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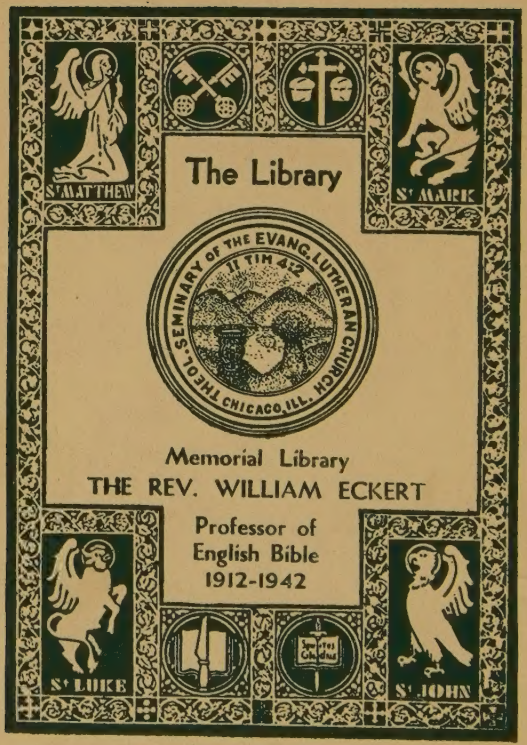
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ST. PAUL AND CHRISTIANITY

ST. PAUL AND CHRISTIANITY

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PREFACE

THE present volume was written originally at the suggestion of the Dean of Wells, for the "Cambridge Manuals of Science and Letters." It proved, however, when completed, considerably too long for that series, and, as it had already been unduly compressed, I felt unable to reduce it any further. I must therefore express my thanks to the Syndicate of the Cambridge Press for relieving me from my arrangement with them, and to Mr. John Murray for undertaking the publication. At the same time the original purpose of the work will explain, and I hope excuse, the brevity with which important points are treated, and the necessarily dogmatic character of many statements where a more lengthy discussion might have been desirable.

When I was originally asked to write a work on "St. Paul and Christianity," I was left to interpret the title for myself, and I took it to mean a study of the teaching of

St. Paul and its place in the development of Christianity. What was the particular position which St. Paul held? What evidence does he give us of what early Christianity was? What did he owe to it? What did he contribute to it? What has been his influence on the subsequent history of Christianity? It might have been possible to answer these questions by discussing the different views which various scholars have held; but a discussion of opinions is never really illuminating, and I have preferred what I believe to be the better plan, to expound what St. Paul taught and to examine his opinions in the light of other early Christian teaching. I have confined myself to expressing my own opinions upon many points which are open to discussion, and while giving, I hope, reasons which may be felt to be adequate for the point of view adopted, have not as a rule attempted to discuss rival theories. It will, however, be fairer if I mention shortly the main alternative opinions about St. Paul's theological position which have been held. To do so in any detail would, of course, be impossible, and anyone who wishes for a guide through the voluminous literature on Paulinism as it has been produced in Germany I would refer to

Schweitzer's work on the history of the interpretation of St. Paul's writings.[1]

First the critical question. On this not much, I think, need be said. It is enough to say that, while I personally believe that the thirteen Epistles which claim to be written by St. Paul were, with the limitations I have suggested in the text, genuine writings of his, there is, of course, considerable diversity of opinion. With the exception of one particular school of Dutch critics who have not succeeded in gaining any credence for their views, no serious scholar doubts the genuineness of the four principal Epistles — Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians. There are not many nowadays who would refuse to accept 1 Thessalonians, Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon. There are still doubts expressed by some as to 2 Thessalonians and Ephesians. Fewer would accept the Pastoral Epistles.[2] As regards the latter, their genuine-

[1] "Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart," von Albert Schweitzer. Translated under the title "Paul and his Interpreters. By Albert Schweitzer, Privat-docent in New Testament Studies in the University of Strasburg. Translated by W. Montgomery, B.A., B.D." (London : Adam and Charles Black, 1912.)

[2] The critical view may be studied in "An Introduction to the New Testament," by Adolf Jülicher, Professor of

ness for our purpose matters little. That is not the case with regard to Ephesians. It is in my opinion fundamental to a proper understanding of St. Paul's thought. To me Ephesians is Pauline through and through, and more even than Romans represents the deepest thoughts of the Apostle; and to hold, as some would do, that it is a compilation, or that it is largely interpolated, shews an incapacity (in my view) to form a judgement of any value in critical matters. It is the careful study of a book that will often solve the question of its origin, and I believe that a close study of the text, with the help of the Dean of Wells' excellent Commentary, forms a most decisive proof of its genuineness.[1]

The next question is the origin of St. Paul's

Theology at the University of Marburg. Translated by Janet Penrose Ward (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1904); or in "An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament," by James Moffatt, B.D., D.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1911); the more conservative view in "Introduction to the New Testament," by Theodore Zahn, Professor of New Testament Exegesis, Erlangen University. Translated from the third German edition (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1909).

[1] "St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians," by J. Armitage Robinson. Second edition. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1904.)

distinctive thought. There is a definite school that would explain much, at any rate, of his writings as the product of Hellenic influence. That school, which is a considerable one in Germany, is best represented in England by Professor Percy Gardner.[1] That theory I have felt definitely obliged to reject. It is true, of course, that St. Paul wrote in the Greek language. It is true, again, that Hellenic influences had been brought to bear on Judaism ever since the spread of Hellenism in the East by the conquests of Alexander. It is clear, again, that a clever, many-sided man like St. Paul could not move about in the Graeco-Roman world without being affected by it; but none of these influences touched the heart of his thought. In no case did they penetrate beneath the surface. St. Paul was at heart a Jew and a Pharisee. His mind had been formed in the Rabbinical schools, and Pharisaism had been developed on lines antagonistic to Hellenism and Hellenistic Judaism.

The third question is the relation of St. Paul to the primitive Church. The tenets of that

[1] "The Religious Experience of St. Paul," by Percy Gardner., Litt.D., F.B.A. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1911.)

school are well known, which had its source in the writings of Ferdinand Christian Baur, and considered that Catholic Christianity was the result of the combination or conciliation of two extreme schools, Ebionitism, or Jewish Christianity, and Paulinism, or Hellenic Christianity, and that between St. Paul and the original Apostles there was a complete and fundamental schism. The main lines of the theory are no longer accepted by any writer, but its influence still lingers, and few writers of a "critical" school are able to free themselves entirely from its effects. It is obvious, of course, to anyone who reads St. Paul, that he was a man of pronounced and decisive individuality; that he held his opinions strongly and definitely; that he would not be patient of half-measures or compromises, and that there were occasions when he differed from the other Apostles. A careful study, however, of the documents shows that the differences between the two parties were not fundamental, and that on all the main lines of Christian teaching St. Paul and the primitive Apostles agreed; that they had accepted his main position, and that it was inconsistency, half-heartedness, and timidity, that he condemned. At the time of St. Paul's conversion the eman-

cipation of Christianity from Judaism had already begun. The admission of the Gentiles had already become an accomplished fact. St. Paul realized the full significance of both these events more fully than did others. He was prepared, as others were not, to carry things to a logical conclusion; but he did not differ fundamentally from the rest of the Church.[1]

Another line of opinion that has developed in recent years may be represented for us best by Wrede's "Paulus."[2] The result of his theory is really to make Paul the founder of Christianity as we know it. Jesus, he maintains, never claimed to be the Messiah. It was to St. Paul that Jesus first owed this title, and it was St. Paul who outlined the character of His Messianic functions out of his own

[1] The best account of the Tübingen theories for English readers is probably that contained in "A Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the New Testament," by George Salmon, D.D. (London: John Murray). His criticism is full of vigour. The most recent refutation is contained in "The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul; their Motive and Origin," by Kirsopp Lake (London: Rivingtons, 1911).

[2] "Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher herausgegeben," von Fr. Michael Schiele, Tübingen. "Paulus," von Professor D. William Wrede. Zweiter Auflage. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1907.)

already-formed conceptions, for he had no real knowledge as to the teaching or personality of our Lord. This school always lays great stress on what I believe to be an entire misinterpretation of the statement of St. Paul, that he no longer knew Jesus after the flesh, and it would hold that not only St. John, but also the Synoptic Gospels, have been largely influenced by St. Paul's teaching. I cannot in the least accept this view. It is probable, of course, that in their present form the Gospels were written after St. Paul had preached, although the great bulk of the material out of which they were formed had been written down at an earlier period. It is possible, therefore, that some influence of St. Paul's teaching may have crept in; but the most striking characteristic of the Synoptic Gospels, and, for that matter, of St. John also, is the complete absence in them of any of those features which are commonly described as Pauline. In almost every point they represent simpler, more primitive, and I believe higher, traditions. There is no sign of Pharisaic thought. There is no trace of the influence of Pauline categories. They represent the source, and not the result, of St. Paul's teaching.

And then there is the modern eschatologist, who is so proud of having brought us back to the historical standpoint that he cannot see anything else. He is not quite so irrational when he is studying St. Paul as when he is examining the teaching of Jesus, but he finds it very difficult to recognize the limits of his theories. He is far too certain that his formulas will explain everything; he is determined to carry out a narrow theory logically, and therefore becomes irrational. The eschatological background is in a sense fundamental to St. Paul, but it is only one of the many strains of thought which contributed to his mental equipment. There was Old Testament Judaism; there was Pharisaism; there was the transformation effected by his own deep religious experience; there was his strong ethical interest; there was, above all, the uniqueness of the teaching of Jesus, "the sweet and blessed figure of Jesus of Nazareth."

All the above views I believe to be one-sided or mistaken. In some cases they represent a perverted view of the way in which things happened. In other cases they exaggerate in one direction some particular influence. The development of Christianity as suggested in the following pages is more

conventional, and, I believe, truer to history. It makes the starting-point the teaching of Jesus as it is recorded for us. It sees the development of that teaching in the hands of the primitive Church. It recognizes the striking character of St. Paul's work and thought. Part of his opinions represented the development with greater vigour and intensity of what the Christian Church was already teaching, and on those lines he contributed to swell the main lines of Christian thought. Certain other points were more special to himself, the result of the expression of Christianity in accordance with the philosophical ideas in which he had been brought up, or in opposition to them. These elements have represented the less catholic side of his teaching. They have been seized on from time to time when the needs of the day required them, but they did not so directly assist in the development of the Christian Church.

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ST. PAUL AND CHRISTIANITY

I

INTRODUCTION

The sources of our information—The Epistles of St. Paul—Their dates and arrangement—Criticism of them—The Acts of the Apostles—St. Paul's training and intellectual equipment—His knowledge of Christianity—His conversion—Its spiritual significance.

THE life and writings of St. Paul are of paramount importance in any investigation of the early history of Christianity, for they give us a fixed point from which to start. The genuineness of a considerable number of Epistles ascribed to him does not admit of any reasonable doubt. Their date can be fixed within a few years with as near an approach to certainty as is possible in historical investigation. We know, too, the work that he accomplished, and we know what manner of man he was. Here, in the midst of a great deal of apparent uncertainty, we have something fixed and definite. It is the purpose of

this short treatise to examine the opinions of St. Paul in relation to certain salient points in his teaching, to discuss the genesis of those opinions, and to investigate the relation of his thought to contemporary Christian teaching. It is not proposed to say anything, except incidentally, on the details of his life and work, nor to deal with any of the interesting investigations which have been made into the archaeology and history of his travels, nor to examine the numerous minor critical questions as to the composition and exact date of the different Epistles. It will be necessary, however, to say something about the sources of our information and about certain outstanding facts in the history of the Apostle, his theological education, his character, and his religious experience.

I

The primary sources of our knowledge of St. Paul's teaching are twofold—the Epistles which bear his name, and the Acts of the Apostles. A study of the Epistles will shew that they divide themselves naturally into four groups. The first consists of 1 and 2 Thessalonians; the second, of Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Romans; the third, of Philippians, Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon; the fourth,

of the Pastoral Epistles, 1 and 2 Timothy, and Titus. With regard to these groups, we may notice that they are the necessary result of the historical study of the circumstances in which the Epistles were written, that a definite distinction of subject-matter corresponds to the difference in date, and, further, that certain variations in style coincide with the result of our historical and theological investigations.

In the first group—the Thessalonian letters, which were written about the years A.D. 50, 51—we get what we may look upon as the normal teaching of St. Paul. They presuppose and refer in various passages to his mission preaching. They deal incidentally with his ordinary theological and ethical instruction. Only one subject is developed in at all a systematic manner in answer to certain questions which had arisen—namely, that of eschatology. Hence the most marked feature of the theology is Christ as Judge.

In the second group, which must be placed between the years A.D. 52 and 58, while many practical details which have arisen in the life of the Churches are touched on, the dominant teaching arises from the Jewish controversy, and therefore the principal subjects discussed are

the work of Christ as Redeemer, the relation of law and faith, our justification, sanctification, and union with Christ.

In the third group, the Epistles of the Captivity, written between A.D. 58 and 61, this controversy is passing away. There are still echoes of it, indeed, in Philippians, which is to a certain extent transitional, but in Colossians and Ephesians two new questions are discussed fully. In Colossians the theology of the person of Christ rather than His work is for the first time explicitly dealt with. This subject demanded attention owing to false views which had begun to prevail denying His supremacy. The other, Ephesians, gives us what is in some ways the culmination of St. Paul's teaching. It deals with the result, if we may put it so, of the Jewish controversy—the conception of the one Christian society, including within its folds Jew and Gentile alike, and representing the ultimate purpose of God in the creation and government of the world. Throughout these Epistles constant reminiscences will be found of the teaching of the second group.

The fourth group, the Pastoral Epistles, written between A.D. 61 and 64, comes back in some ways to the characteristics of the first group. There are many eschatological refer-

ences; there are also many reminiscences of the special ideas of the second and third groups, while throughout the personal note predominates. Instead of doctrinal questions, we have, as the natural result of the special circumstances of the Epistles, directions on the practical organization and government of Churches.

Now, if we examine the Epistles linguistically, we shall find that they undoubtedly divide into the same four groups. Throughout, indeed, there is a definite unity of style and vocabulary, as may be seen by a few minutes' consultation of a concordance. But there are certain differences characteristic of each group. The first may, perhaps, represent the Apostle's normal style. He is not carried away by any overpowering thought, nor are his feelings aroused by the anger of controversy. When we come to the second group, and specially to the Epistle to the Galatians, there is a change. The keenness of the controversy has aroused the Apostle, and his intense feeling is reflected in his manner of writing. He is rhetorical, argumentative; sometimes his thoughts flow so quickly that the stages of the argument seem to drop out, and it becomes obscured. There are long quotations from the Old Testa-

ment, which seem generally to be written down from memory. There are signs of indignation, of anger, and of irony. The vocabulary is influenced, also, by the changed subject of thought. In the third group, which has some affinities with the Epistle to the Romans, the style again changes somewhat. It is fuller, heavier, the sentences are longer, the words are more carefully chosen. It is the language of a theological treatise rather than of a polemical pamphlet. In the fourth group we come back to a simpler method of expression. Here the marked feature is the great difference of vocabulary, a difference which is certainly sufficient to justify doubts being raised as to the genuineness of the group.

Now, these different phenomena constitute a strong argument in favour of the genuineness of the whole collection of letters. If we regard them as a whole, the Pauline style is different from that of any other book or group of books of the New Testament; and the coincidences formed by the fact that the style, subject-matter, and historical surroundings, all change together are difficult to harmonize with any idea of deliberate forgery or unconscious growth. The differences in style and vocabulary between the different groups are not

greater than is natural in the circumstances, if we remember two facts. The first is that St. Paul was writing in what was to some extent a foreign language. It is natural for those speaking or writing in a language not their own to be influenced by the words which have been recently most prominently brought before them. Their command of the language is unequal, and they are liable, therefore, to be at the mercy of the particular groups of words which may be impressed upon them at the moment. The second point to be remembered is that St. Paul wrote none of his letters with his own hand. They were all dictated, and in these circumstances it is never quite possible to say how far the words may have come from the writer or from the amanuensis. In particular, it is possible that some of the difficulties felt as regards the Pastoral Epistles may arise from the fact that sections may have been written in their present form by other hands. There are many documents written nowadays which have a similar composite authorship, sections being incorporated by the writer which have been drafted by different persons. Portions, therefore, of these Epistles may have been written out for St. Paul by one of his companions, and

then incorporated in the Epistles. A theory such as this is really better than one which suggests later interpolation, because there is no evidence of the Epistles ever having been circulated in any form different from that in which we have them, and there are no passages which on any grounds need be held to imply a later date than the time of the Apostle.

The general tendency of opinion since the days when doubts began to be first cast on the authenticity of the New Testament books has been always towards considering a larger number of these Epistles genuine than criticism originally suggested. There are still considerable doubts felt by many as to the Epistle to the Ephesians, but even as regards this Epistle opinion tends more and more to look upon it as genuine. There are certain slight difficulties—of what work cannot that be said?—but the continuity of the thought with that of the Epistle to the Romans makes the present writer have no doubts as to its authorship. The suggestion that it is formed in any way out of a cento of passages extracted from the Colossians represents criticism in its most unconvincing aspect, for there is no work in which the unity of thought is more marked. The Epistle represents the culminating point

of St. Paul's teaching; his vision of a world-wide Church is seen in its grandest form; it is his most magnificent exposition of what he conceived to be the Divine plan. Writings of such prophetic insight are not built up by plagiarism. Renan's description of it as "banal" is almost ridiculous.

When we come to the fourth group the difficulties are greater. No writer belonging to what is called a "definite critical school" accepts them, and many others have doubts. External evidence is indeed strongly in their favour. They were clearly known at the beginning of the second century to St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp, and their omission by Marcion from his collection of the Pauline Epistles is, considering their contents, of no weight. As regards their historical situation, there is no difficulty about finding a place for them, if we can assume that St. Paul was released from his first imprisonment; if we cannot, it is almost impossible to do so. The existence of these Epistles is in itself strong evidence for this last stage in St. Paul's career. The details of Church organization have troubled many, but they do not imply anything more advanced than the other Epistles or the Acts of the Apostles; they

only work out the earliest form of Church order in greater detail. It has been suggested that, as St. Paul expected the speedy coming of Christ, he would hardly have concerned himself with such matters. That argument is of no value, for it is clear that the writer of the Pastoral Epistles, whether or no he was St. Paul, certainly expected that the Parousia would come shortly. There remains the most serious difficulty — that of style. Although there is much that is Pauline, the vocabulary differs from that of the other Epistles more than the subject-matter would lead us to expect, and it is here that the real difficulty lies. How far it is met by the suggestion mentioned above must be left to others to determine. For the purpose of these lectures the Pastoral Epistles are not of great importance. They add little or nothing to our knowledge of any fundamental point in St. Paul's teaching, and it is rather our business to inquire how far their doctrinal position harmonizes with, or is consistent with, that of other Epistles. We may therefore quite well suspend our judgement with regard to them.

The second main source of our knowledge is the Acts of the Apostles, and here, again, our

attitude may well be one of suspense. No new point is added to our conception of his doctrine by the speeches of St. Paul which are given in it, and our inquiry must rather be whether they accurately represent his teaching. There can be little real doubt that the author of the Acts was St. Luke. The question of importance is, in what sense the speeches recorded in it are to be taken as historical. It is well known that it was a literary habit of Greek and Roman writers to insert speeches of their own composition to represent the point of view of different actors in history. Did St. Luke do this, or had he accurate information of what was actually said? There is no doubt that the speeches in the Acts are written in the style of the author of the book. They are short and much compressed; but an examination of their contents shews that they must have been based upon an accurate acquaintance with the general character of the teaching of St. Paul and the other Apostles, and it is probable that in certain cases they are a short reproduction of the actual speeches. They were intended by the writer to represent to us the different types of Apostolic teaching, and he had good means of knowing what that teaching was. The general historical value of

the work is certainly becoming more firmly established as knowledge increases.

Apart from these two sources, any knowledge that we may obtain of St. Paul's teaching from later writers or tradition is so slight that it may for our purpose be ignored.

II

The fundamental fact in the history of St. Paul was his conversion. Of that we have full accounts in the Acts—accounts which may differ in detail, but agree completely as to the main incident. We have references to it also in his own writings. The fundamental fact is undoubted. Owing to a vision on the road to Damascus his whole life was suddenly and completely changed. What he had before persecuted he now preached with all his power. To this he devoted his life until he laid it down as a martyr to Christ. What was he before his conversion? He describes himself as having been a Hebrew of the Hebrews, of the tribe of Benjamin; more zealous than any of his contemporaries in his zeal for the law — a Pharisee. Although a Roman citizen, and born in a cultivated Greek city, Tarsus, he was an Aramaic-speaking Jew, and he was little influenced, probably, by the

Greek life of the place. He had come to Jerusalem to be a pupil in the schools of the Rabbis, sitting at the feet of Gamaliel. These facts are fundamental for his mental history. A distinctive feature of St. Paul is that he interpreted Christianity according to the method of thought which his Rabbinical training had given him.

Judaism at the beginning of the Christian era presented varied features, and there were within it certain distinctive schools of thought. The fundamental point shared by all alike was the acceptance of the Jewish creed and life as it may be learned from, and is implied in, the Old Testament. This, of course, St. Paul shared with all his contemporaries, and the belief and acceptance of it is assumed in all the New Testament Scriptures. In this there was nothing novel. Then there was the development of thought which we call Apocalyptic, contained in that strange series of works which extend from the prophet Daniel to those last writers who mourn over the destruction of the Jewish nation. Here, again, St. Paul shared the opinion of his contemporaries. We know, from the fragments of apocalyptic teaching preserved in Rabbinical writings, that the Rabbis were not unaffected

by this movement, and St. Paul clearly shared in their thoughts; but he did not in this way introduce anything new into Christianity. It was the popular theology of the day, and was accepted as such by all the early teachers of Christianity.

There was, thirdly, the element which we call Rabbinical. This was the new element that St. Paul brought into Christianity, and it influenced his teaching partly by way of reaction, partly by having given him forms of thought or categories under which he necessarily discussed various questions that arose. Just in the same way Protestantism was a reaction from the mediaeval system of thought, but it could not shake itself free from the mental atmosphere in which it had arisen, and so there arose a Protestant Scholasticism. While St. Paul's conversion meant, of course, in many ways a revolt against his early training, he did not entirely free himself from it, and throughout his writings there are traces of Rabbinical influences. Questions that he discussed were questions that were discussed in the schools. His early training gave him his method of argument. The absence of system in his theology corresponds to the unsystematic style

of Rabbinical speculation. His doctrine of Justification, of Predestination, of Free-will, and Divine Grace, were all influenced by his early education.

Then, fourthly, there was Hellenistic Judaism. How far was St. Paul influenced by this? We know, at any rate, that he used the Septuagint, and knew it well. He rarely shews in his quotations any real knowledge of the Hebrew Bible. He was acquainted also with the Book of Wisdom, and had been much influenced by it. There are considerable traces of its use in Romans. The language used regarding the resurrection of the body in 2 Corinthians seems drawn from it, and it provided many of the expressions employed in the Colossians to describe the attributes of the Divine Christ. There is, however, no evidence that he was acquainted with the writings of Philo, and his whole cast of thought was Palestinian, and not Alexandrian.

The new influence, then, brought by St. Paul into Christianity, apart from all that came from his character and personality, was that of his Jewish training in the Rabbinical schools of Jerusalem. That is, he was an educated theologian of the day. Here lies the contrast with the popular and simpler Judaism

of the Galilean disciples. At one time it was customary to find a good deal of direct Hellenic influence in St. Paul's writings. I do not believe that that is correct. The relations of St. Paul to the Greek or Roman life of his time were only superficial. An able man such as he was, with a keenness of sympathy and vividness of insight, travelling through the world of his day, mixing with many classes of persons, could not but be affected by what he saw and heard, and so the life of the times, its political ideas, its games, its philosophy, its poetry, all found echoes in his writings. But the influence was not fundamental. It supplied him with language and imagery, but did not mould his thought. His ideas are expressed in Hebrew and not in Greek categories.

There was one more element which must have affected St. Paul's life even before his conversion, the existence of which is sometimes forgotten. He must already have known a good deal about Christianity. Probably he was one of those who had disputed with Stephen. At any rate, he would not have persecuted the Christians unless he had known enough of their opinions to give him a reason for doing so. This is a fundamental fact which is sometimes lost sight of in studying the history

both of St. Paul and of early Christianity. If Christianity owed, as some would have it, most of its existing features to St. Paul, if from him it derived its conception of Christ as the Messiah, the idea of salvation apart from the law, its universalist tendencies, its broad and liberal outlook, if these had not existed in the primitive Church, there would have been no reason why St. Paul or any Pharisee should have persecuted it. He persecuted Christianity because it meant the destruction of everything which, as a strict Jew, he considered an essential part of the Divine law. Already it must have shewn signs that it would break down the exclusiveness of Judaism and the rigour of its legal system, or St. Paul would not have found himself in opposition to it. It is significant that at first it was the Sadducees, the party of order, who were the opponents of Christianity, and it was Gamaliel who defended them. That was natural, if at the beginning the only belief that was generally recognized was the Messiahship of Jesus. It would not be until it had become apparent that this teaching would interfere with the supremacy of the law and the exclusiveness of Judaism that a Pharisee would find reason to attack it.

Christianity must have been known to St. Paul before his conversion, as a religion which accepted Jesus as the Messiah, and which placed devotion to Christ above devotion to the law, and already showed signs of what would be considered by the stricter Jew of the day a dangerous latitudinarianism.

III

It is not necessary, for our purpose, to form any opinion of the exact nature of the event which we call the conversion of St. Paul. The three accounts of it which we possess shew some difference in detail, but the leading characteristics are quite clear; while his own references to it reveal the influence on his life which he felt that he had experienced. Nor, again, is it necessary to discuss the psychological characteristics of the event, and the extent to which what happened was subjective or objective. The important point for us is the change in St. Paul's life which was produced. He sums it up succinctly: "It pleased God to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him amongst the Gentiles." It completely changed his whole life. He had persecuted the Christians because they had accepted Jesus as the Messiah. He now believed Him to be the

Messiah and the Son of God. He had looked upon their belief in the Resurrection as blasphemy. He now believed that the Christ who had risen from the dead was the living Christ. He had thought that the new expansive and liberal doctrine which Stephen had preached meant the destruction of Judaism. He now realized that the preaching to the Gentiles meant the accomplishment of its purpose. But these propositions give a very slight idea of the complete change which had taken place. He had had a tremendous spiritual experience. It had transformed his whole being. He had been apprehended by Christ Jesus: to him henceforth to live was Christ, and to die was gain. He counted all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus. He had become the slave of Christ. He could do all things through Christ who strengthened him. Henceforth it was no longer he that lived, but Christ that lived in him.

It is in the light of this spiritual change that we must study St. Paul's teaching. St. Paul had been a theologian before his conversion, but still more he had been an intensely religious man. As a Christian preacher he had not ceased to be a theologian. He was a man of strong intellectual force; it was necessary

that his reason should be convinced, and he was able always to give adequate reasons for what he believed. He remains a theologian, and each question that comes before him of controversy or interest he works out in accordance with the theological principles in which he had been trained; but he was not primarily either a theologian or an apologist. He was a man of intense religious earnestness. He accepted Christianity; he believed in Christ; he preached Christ because of a profound religious experience, because all that he taught was real to himself.

There are certain facts and experiences of outstanding importance in the religious history of the world. One of these is the conversion of St. Paul. That conversion was a fact. We know what St. Paul had been. We know what he became. We know what he accomplished. We have in his letters an intense and intimate revelation of his deepest religious experience and inmost convictions. His conversion exhibits in a more striking manner than almost any other event the reality and power of the spiritual forces of the world. It is a witness of St. Paul's own strength. It is still more a witness to the force and power of the life and death of Jesus Christ.

St. Paul has been called the greatest of Christians. His conversion was the most striking example of the compelling power of Christ. He never ascribes anything to his own effort or capacity. Everything in his life he ascribes to Christ and the power of Christ in him. He is always only a chosen vessel in the hands of the Lord. His conversion is but a witness to the spiritual force and power of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whom he preached.

II

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF ST. PAUL

Reasons for order of treatment—A part of St. Paul's normal teaching—Outlines of the teaching—The time of the Parousia—Antichrist—Sources of his teaching—Its religious significance—Symbolic character—Its permanent value.

A RECENT writer has told us that, if we are to understand the beginnings of Christianity, we should look upon the teaching of our Lord and St. Paul as episodes in the history of Jewish eschatology. The statement is, of course, a paradox. But a paradox generally contains a certain amount of truth, and this has the advantage of drawing our attention to an element in St. Paul's teaching which is in a certain sense fundamental, and of bringing us face to face with some interesting problems. We learn through it certain presuppositions which were part of St. Paul's mental equipment, and are better able to look at the questions before him from his own point of view. We learn, also, something of the thought of the times in which

he lived. It is an interesting point, also, that his eschatological teaching is expounded in the two earliest Epistles which we possess, whilst in his other writings it is presupposed.

I

The first point to be noticed is that a doctrine of the "last things" was part of St. Paul's normal preaching. The author of the Acts implies that when at Thessalonica he taught about the Kingdom of Heaven. For it is related that the Apostle was brought before the magistrates for teaching that there was another king, one Jesus.[1] This corresponds to the indications of the Epistle to the Thessalonians. You have learned, he says, clearly referring to his teaching when among them, "to wait for his Son from heaven . . ., even Jesus, which delivereth us from the wrath to come."[2] They had received knowledge which made it unnecessary to write to them of "the times and the seasons."[3] He had exhorted them to walk worthy of God, who calleth them to His own kingdom and glory.[4] His teaching had been such that they expected that the end would come soon, and felt difficulties as to what would happen to those

[1] Acts xvii. 7.
[2] 1 Thess. i. 10.
[3] 1 Thess. v. 1.
[4] 1 Thess. ii. 12.

who had already died.[1] This conviction of the transitoriness of this world seems to have led to irregularities of conduct.[2] Now, teaching such as this would not have been necessary to the Jew, who believed in a final judgement on the coming of the Kingdom; but the Gentiles could not have understood Christianity unless they had learnt at the same time the eschatological presuppositions of its teaching.

What were these presuppositions? In St. Paul's conception the course of time was divided into periods called "aeons." Eternity is spoken of as "for aeons of aeons."[3] The thought of God was conceived in a time which might be described as "before the aeons."[4] The time when St. Paul lived was described as the present age, or aeon,[5] in contrast to the age which is to come.[6] It is the evil age.[7] Its characteristic is transitoriness. The fashion of this world passeth away.[8] As an evil world, it is subject to the rulers of this world, or the God of this world—that is, Satan and

[1] 1 Thess. iv. 13, 14.
[2] 1 Thess. iv. 1 *et seq.*
[3] *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.*
[4] *πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων.*
[5] *ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος.*
[6] *ὁ αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων, ἐρχόμενος.*
[7] Gal. i. 4, *τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ.*
[8] 1 Cor. vii. 31, *παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.*

the evil spirits.[1] But yet Satan is not supreme, for God is King of the ages,[2] and there is a Divine purpose running through all time.

The end of this present age, or, as it is called, this world, will come shortly. The time when it comes is described as "the day," or the "day of the Lord."[3] From one point of view it is the last day, for it ends the present order of things. From another it is the day of redemption.[4] It is the Parousia[5]—the Advent of the Son of God. "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we that are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air."[6] "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed."[7] It is also the day of judgement, when God shall judge the secrets of all men.[8] For we shall all stand before the

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 6, 8; *cf.* Eph. vi. 12.
[2] 1 Tim. i. 17.
[3] 1 Thess. v. 2, 4.
[4] Eph. iv. 30.
[5] 1 Thess. ii. 19.
[6] 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17.
[7] 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52.
[8] Rom. ii. 16.

judgement-seat of God. Each of us shall give an account of himself to God.[1] "We must all be made manifest before the judgement-seat of Christ; that each one may receive the things done in the body in accordance with what he has done, whether it be good or bad."[2] It is a day of wrath and revelation,[3] for the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of man.[4] The wrath of God cometh upon the sons of disobedience.[5] It is therefore a day which tests the quality of each man's work. The fire of the great catastrophe shall come and prove each man's work of what sort it is.[6] It is therefore a day of vengeance for those who know not God, and have not obeyed the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. They shall suffer punishment, even eternal destruction from the face of the Lord and from the glory of His might.[7] On the other hand, it is a day of redemption[8]—the day of the foundation of the kingdom. Henceforth the righteous shall be ever with the Lord.[9] It means, therefore, rest, peace, salvation, everlasting union with Christ.

[1] Rom. xiv. 10, 12.
[2] 2 Cor. v. 10.
[3] Rom. ii. 5.
[4] Rom. i. 18.
[5] Eph. v. 6.
[6] 1 Cor. iii. 13.
[7] 2 Thess. i. 8, 9.
[8] Eph. iv. 30.
[9] 1 Thess. iv. 17.

II

But when is this to come? There is no doubt that St. Paul expected the Parousia soon, that he thought that it would come in his own lifetime; and although as he grew older he was less confident, yet to the end of his life he hoped that this might be the case. In 1 Thessalonians his language is confident, "The dead in Christ shall rise first," but "we that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air."[1] In 1 Corinthians a new thought appears, that of the "spiritual body." The body that is buried will rise again in incorruption. Those who at the time of the coming are still alive will undergo the same transformation. "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump."[2] The corruptible will put on incorruption; the mortal, immortality. In 2 Corinthians this thought is further worked out. St. Paul has been in great danger of his life. He is less confident that he will live until the Lord comes. But he knows that He who raised up the Lord Jesus will raise up us also with Jesus.[3]

[1] 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17. [2] 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52.
[3] 2 Cor. iv. 14.

But the transformation which he described in the first Epistle is, he feels, already working. He speaks of the earthly house of our tabernacle being dissolved. He speaks, again, of a building from God eternal in the heavens. He is longing to be clothed upon with our habitation which is from heaven, that mortality may be swallowed up of life.[1] The language is compatible either with the expectation of immediate death or with hopes of the Coming. But it is the confidence of a future after death and of judgement rather than the immediate Coming of the Lord which is in his mind.

Although in the next group of Epistles the eschatological element is less prominent, and other thoughts occupy St. Paul's mind, yet it still remains the framework in which his ideas are set. He reminds the Philippians that the Lord is at hand[2]; but, as regards himself, his position as prisoner makes it possible that he may be put to death, and he expresses his desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better.[3] In Colossians and Ephesians we find incidental references to the kingdom,[4] the Divine wrath,[5] the day of redemption,[6] the evil

[1] 2 Cor. v. 1-4.
[2] Phil. iv. 5.
[3] Phil. i. 23.
[4] Eph. v. 5.
[5] Col. iii. 6; Eph. v. 6.
[6] Eph. iv. 30.

day.[1] But undoubtedly, under the shadow of his inherited eschatology, another thought has been growing up in St. Paul's mind—not, indeed, as yet fully grasped, but destined ultimately to provide a substitute for the immediate hope of the Parousia—the universal kingdom of Christ.

When we turn to the final group of Epistles, we seem to return also to the thought of the earliest period. These are the last times.[2] The falling away from truth and the rise of heresy are what might be expected in these evil days before the Messiah comes. Timothy is to keep the commandment without spot until the appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ.[3] We are to live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world, looking for the blessed hope and the glorious appearing of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ.[4] Most remarkable is the last Epistle of all. The Apostle speaks of the last days when grievous times shall come, and clearly implies that they are already present. He warns Timothy that these times will still be worse. He speaks, indeed, as if his own death is to come shortly: "I am already being offered, and the time

[1] Eph. vi. 13.
[2] 2 Tim. iii. 1.
[3] 1 Tim. vi. 14.
[4] Titus ii. 12, 13.

of my departure is at hand. . . . There is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give to me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing."[1] Then directly afterwards there seems to be a half-feeling that he may still live for the Parousia. "The Lord will deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly kingdom."[2]

This survey will shew that substantially St. Paul's belief remains unchanged throughout. There is only a slight shifting of the point of view. At the beginning the end is looked upon as imminent, and he expects to live until it comes. Always it is at hand, until, when the perils of this life become greater, he himself doubts whether he will live for it. He contemplates the growth of the Church, and its spread in the world becomes to him a more prominent thought than the final catastrophe. At the end of his life he still looks for it as imminent. He still feels that he may live to see it, but he is convinced that, whether he live or whether he die, it will always be in the Lord. But, although the end may come soon, the time is not

[1] 2 Tim. iv. 6-8. [2] 2 Tim. iv. 18.

yet. It will come suddenly, as a thief in the night, but before it comes there will be a great falling away. The man of sin, the son of perdition—that is, Antichrist—will be revealed. This mystery of iniquity is already working, but there is a power restraining it. Finally the lawless one shall be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the breath of His mouth, and shall destroy by the manifestation of his presence.[1] This expectation, which we learn from 2 Thessalonians—one of the earliest Epistles—corresponds with the situation as St. Paul conceived it at the close of his life. The outburst of wickedness which, ten years before, he had expected had now come. Men were everywhere falling away from the faith. Persecution had arisen. It was a sure sign that the end was at hand.

III

What was the source and origin of this teaching? It is recognized that it was part of the ordinary and popular religion of the day. It had its roots in Old Testament prophecy. It is developed in the Book of Daniel and in the series of Apocalyptic writings which succeed that work. It was the normal

[1] 2 Thess. ii. 3-10.

literary method for the expression of religion in the time of our Lord. But while in its main outline it was derived from Judaism, it had under Christian influence been developed and was being transformed. If we study the teaching of the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, and again that of the Apocalypse, we shall find all the different elements of St. Paul's conception clearly present. We have the same expectation of the woes of the Messiah and the rise of false teaching, of the suddenness of the end, coming like a thief in the night or like a woman in her travail. There runs through the Gospels, as through the other books of the New Testament, the same curious combination of two apparently inconsistent beliefs, the nearness and yet the remoteness of the end. It must be clear, we think, that elements of Christian teaching which are shared by such different works as the Apocalypse, the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Epistles of St. Paul, and are presupposed throughout the New Testament, were not derived from St. Paul. Our Lord had throughout taught in the current language of apocalyptic expectation; but He was always transforming the ideas while He was using the language, and what He did was done also by His followers. In St. Paul we see the

building up of the Christian doctrine of immortality out of Jewish eschatology; and when we come to what we may describe as the more definitely Christian mode of expression, it is not necessary to go outside to find its source. It is true, indeed, that the Book of Wisdom has supplied some of the language which is used in 2 Corinthians; but the thoughts and ideas of that Epistle are Pauline and Christian. They grow out of the fundamental conviction of St. Paul that his life was a life in Christ; that he was already being transformed by the power of the Spirit, and that thus our vile body may be fashioned like unto His glorious Body. A transformation of the life of the Christian which begins in this world will be completed hereafter. The life in the Spirit on earth is the pledge and guarantee of the life in the Spirit hereafter.

IV

There are certain other problems suggested by this primitive Christian eschatology. The first is that it is always difficult to say how much of it is figurative, and how much we are intended to take literally. It is quite certain that there is a considerable amount which was never intended to be more than symbolical.

Take, for example, the various visions of the succession of the kingdoms of this world in the Book of Daniel. Clearly there the great image, the four beasts, the ram, and the he-goat, are all purely symbolical. Or take the well-known passage of the Christian armour at the end of Ephesians. Here the Christian is called on to prepare for the evil day, the great day when the forces of Antichrist shall be loosed—when all the powers of darkness shall be arrayed against him. In order to meet these attacks he is bidden to put on the whole armour of God. This passage is, in fact, both eschatological and demonological. But how much do these two forms of thought contribute except language? The Christian armour is clearly symbolical. Are not the "evil day" and the "demons" also symbolical? When we read the passage now we think only of the spiritual warfare which every good man must wage. How far did St. Paul himself take the words quite literally? How far was he using them to express his spiritual teaching in well-known language? With examples such as these before us, there is no need to be too ready to imagine that all this teaching must necessarily be interpreted in a matter-of-fact way. The eschatology of

the New Testament puts before us certain great truths — judgement, resurrection, the recompense of good and evil, the final triumph of Divine justice. All these it teaches in the language of symbolism. That symbolic language has become the inheritance of the Christian Church. How much do we ever take it literally ourselves, and have we any reason for thinking that St. Paul intended us to take it invariably in a crudely literal and matter-of-fact manner?

The second point I would notice about this eschatology is that it is based upon two fundamental facts: the transiency of human life and the transiency of human society. It became the current teaching just at the time when, under the hammer of the Roman power, all the nations of the East were in a state of dissolution; when the one thought that was necessarily impressed upon men's minds was the passing away of all settled earthly landmarks; when empire had seemed to succeed empire and conqueror conqueror; when the one lesson that the outlook on the world's history seemed to teach was that the fashion of this world passeth away. The apparent permanency of the political conditions under which we live at the present day conceals

from us how true is this aspect of earthly life, and makes us forget that the transient character of human affairs which is the presupposition of this eschatological teaching is real. If not only the life of the individual here is very short, but the existent conditions of human society are equally transitory, so that human work and labour are of little profit; if the great city that we have built, the kingdom we have founded, the temples we have erected, will all pass away—and who can doubt that it is so?—we naturally turn our minds to what is really permanent. That is the fundamental thought of eschatology. When the fashion of this world passes away, there is a Kingdom of Heaven for those who have been followers of Christ. Things which are seen are temporal; the things which are not seen are eternal. Above the world, with all its changes, there is the unchanging figure of God. These are fundamental spiritual truths, and it is these which underlie all the eschatological teaching, whether Jewish or Christian, of the early centuries. It is not an exaggeration, in fact, to say that eschatology means religion. Rationalist critics have always attempted to ignore all such elements when they have reconstructed the teaching of the Gospel.

They would turn the teaching of our Lord into an ethical system, and make Christianity a philosophical school. Our attention has once more been drawn somewhat violently to the eschatological elements in the New Testament, and we are reminded thus of its religious teaching. Christianity is not primarily a rule of life or a system of philosophy, but a religion; and religion starts with a fundamental belief in God, in man's responsibility to God, in faith and hope, in judgement and eternal life, in the final establishment of the Kingdom of Christ. The symbolism of the first century has largely passed away, although we use its language in Christian poetry without any misgivings. The fundamental beliefs in resurrection, immortality, in judgement and salvation, which we are taught through it, have become the permanent possession of the Christian Church.

III

ST. PAUL'S CHRISTOLOGY—THE PERSON OF CHRIST

The Jewish expectation—St. Paul's conception—Historical development—Analysis of his teaching—The earthly life—The Divine nature—The source of his belief—The teaching of the Church—The life of Christ.

THE fundamental fact in relation to St. Paul's conversion and the central point of his teaching were the acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah. "Paul reasoned with them out of the scriptures, openly alleging that Messiah must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead; and that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is Messiah."[1] "Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved."[2] "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved."[3] This acceptance of Jesus as Messiah meant that the Christian teaching of St. Paul was a natural development of his Jewish faith. Just as part

[1] Acts xvii. 2-3. [2] Acts xvi. 31. [3] Rom. x. 9.

of the religion in which he had been brought up had been the expectation of a final catastrophe—judgement to come and the establishment of the kingdom—so he looked for, as did his contemporaries, the coming of the Messiah.

That hope amongst the Jews probably took one of two forms. One was the rise of a Prince of the House of David, who, at the head of the armies of Israel, would defeat the hated heathen and restore again the kingdom to Israel. It is this form of the Messianic hope which is expressed in a well-known passage of the Psalms of Solomon: "Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king, the son of David, in the time which thou, O God, knowest, that he may reign over Israel thy servant; and gird him with strength that he may break in pieces them that rule unjustly. . . . He shall judge the nations and the peoples with the wisdom of his righteousness; and he shall possess the nations of the heathen to serve him beneath his yoke; and he shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen of the whole earth; and he shall purge Jerusalem and make it holy even as it was in the days of old, so that the nations may come from the ends of the earth to see his glory, bringing as

gifts her sons that had fainted. . . . And there shall be no iniquity in his days in their midst, for all shall be holy, and their king is the Lord Messiah."[1]

No doubt some such hope as this was the normal form which Messianic expectation took amongst the people of Palestine. It was hopes like these that from time to time inspired revolts against the Roman Empire, and that encouraged all the various false Messiahs that arose. This conception, too, has left its impress, as we can recognize, on various episodes in the Gospels. But this would not have been the form that St. Paul's hopes took. He was not a Palestinian Jew; neither the Temple worship nor the sanctity of the Holy Land would appeal to him so strongly. His conceptions were much more of a definitely religious character. It would, therefore, be the Christ of religion that he would expect. The exact form which this expectation took we cannot, of course, say. A religious hope is not generally put in exact theological language, and the details of the picture were no doubt filled in differently by different minds; but no doubt it was the apocalyptic Messiah that St. Paul

[1] "Psalms of Solomon," translated by James and Ryle, xvii. 23-36.

expected. One form of this is well expressed in the summary which Dr. Charles gives us of the second section of the Book of Enoch "But the oppression of the kings and the mighty will not continue for ever. Suddenly the Head of Days will appear, and with him the Son of Man, to execute judgement upon all alike—on the righteous and the wicked, on angel and on man. And to this end there will be a resurrection of all Israel; the books of the living will be opened; all judgement will be committed unto the Son of Man; the Son of Man will possess universal dominion, and sit on the throne of his glory, which is likewise God's throne. He will judge the holy angels and the fallen angels, the righteous upon earth and the sinners; but particularly those who oppress his saints, the kings and the mighty and those who possess the earth. All are judged according to their deeds, for their deeds are weighed in the balance. The fallen angels are cast into a fiery furnace. The kings and the mighty confess their sins and pray for forgiveness, but in vain; and are given into the hands of the righteous; and their destruction will furnish a spectacle to the righteous as they burn and vanish for ever out of sight, to be tortured in Gehenna by the angels of

punishment. The remaining sinners and godless will be driven from off the face of the earth. The Son of Man will slay them with the word of his mouth. Sin and wrongdoing will be banished from the earth; and heaven and earth will be transformed and the righteous and elect will have their mansions therein; and the light of the Lord of Spirits will shine upon them; they will live in the light of eternal life. The Elect One will dwell amongst them."[1]

It will become apparent how far St. Paul's ultimate conception resembled this, and how far it differed from it. If such was St. Paul's starting-point, and there is no reason for doubting that it was something of this character, his conversion meant not only that he accepted Jesus as the Messiah, but that his conception of the work and purpose and person of the Messiah underwent a remarkable transformation.

I

It will be convenient first to examine the Epistles in chronological order. We shall thus obtain a succinct view of St. Paul's teaching, and shall be able to decide how far there was any development in his lifetime.

The evidence of the first group is particularly

[1] Charles, "The Book of Enoch," p. 109.

interesting, both because in some ways it is nearest to the apocalyptic conception we have just sketched, and because it is implicit for the most part rather than explicit. Incidental references imply often much more fundamental thought than dogmatic constructions. Jesus in these Epistles is the Lord, the Christ, the Son of God. He is associated with the Father on terms of apparent equality; as the Source, with Him, of grace and peace; with the Father He rules our life, our faith; our love and our hope alike look to Him as to the Father.[1] He had been killed by the Jews, but God had raised Him up; He delivereth us from the wrath which is to come; He shall come again "revealed from heaven with his mighty angels"; He shall destroy the wicked and reward the good; He shall be glorified with His saints, and we shall be ever with Him.[2] Even now there is the closest fellowship between us and Him. We are His followers, and He is our Example. The Churches are in Christ Jesus. Our life is to stand fast in the Lord. Whether we wake or sleep, we live with Him. All Christian rule and authority is in His name.[3] If we consider

[1] 1 Thess. i. 1, 3, iii. 11; 2 Thess. i. 1, 2.
[2] 1 Thess. ii. 15, i. 10, iv. 16; 2 Thess. i. 7, ii. 8.
[3] 1 Thess. i. 6, ii. 14, v. 10; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 12.

the meaning of this language carefully, we shall be convinced that, although formal definition is absent, it is difficult to explain it by the use of any other phrase than that of saying that Christ is Divine. He is not only a supernatural Christ, but one who is spoken of in a way which seems to imply equality with the Father. We shall find later in St. Paul's life a more fully developed theology, but we shall find nothing which implies greater dignity or power than these incidental references in the earliest Epistles.

The great theme of the second group of the Epistles is the work of Christ for our salvation. It may reasonably be held that St. Paul's conception of what Christ had done, and his comprehension of the full significance of His death, shews some development. But for us at the moment the important point is that, if St. Paul could ascribe such power to Christ as he does, he must also ascribe to Him a personality which harmonizes with what He could accomplish. This may be summed up in the words, "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself."[1] Other particular passages may be quoted. There is a very clear statement of the pre-existence of Christ as Son: "God sent

[1] 2 Cor. v. 19.

forth his Son."[1] He is described as "the image of God."[2] In contrast to Adam, who was from the earth earthy, "the second man is of heaven."[3] The intimate connection, also, between Christ and the Church is further worked out in the thought that the Church is the Body of Christ: "Ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular."[4]

The most explicit Christological development takes place in the third group. We find it first in a well-known passage in Philippians which speaks of Christ's pre-existence in the essential nature of God, and of His taking upon Himself the essential nature of man, of His death and His final triumph.[5] In the Epistle to the Colossians it becomes still more explicit. Clearly there was some teaching prevailing which tended to depreciate the conception of Christ, which looked upon Him simply as one of the angels, and considered Him to be among created beings. Hence it became necessary for St. Paul to state quite definitely what he thought, and this he does in a well-known passage the significance of which is summed up for us in the following paraphrase of Bishop Lightfoot:

[1] Gal. iv. 4. [2] 2 Cor. iv. 4. [3] 1 Cor. xv. 47.
[4] 1 Cor. xii. 27. [5] Phil. ii. 6-11.

"He is the perfect image, the visible representation, of the unseen God. He is the Firstborn, the absolute Heir of the Father, begotten before the ages; the Lord of the Universe by virtue of primogeniture, and by virtue also of creative agency. For in and through Him the whole world was created, things in heaven and things on earth, things visible to the outer eye and things cognizable by the inward perception. His supremacy is absolute and universal. All powers in heaven and earth are subject to Him. This subjection extends even to the most exalted and most potent of angelic beings, whether they be called Thrones or Dominations or Princedoms or Powers or whatever title of dignity men may confer upon them. Yes: He is first and He is last. Through Him, as the mediatorial Word, the universe has been created; and unto Him, as the final goal, it is tending. In Him is no before or after. He is pre-existent and self-existent before all the worlds. And in Him, as the binding and sustaining power, universal nature coheres and consists."[1]

It may be noticed how in this description of Christ there is one point brought prominently out on which we have had no insistence

[1] Lightfoot, *ad* Col. i. 15-17; "Colossians," ed. 2, p. 144.

in the earlier letters—what we may describe as His cosmic significance. He is both the Agent of creation and the Sustainer of the universe. But even here, although the thought is worked out more elaborately, there is nothing absolutely new. St. Paul had spoken of the "one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things."[1] He had spoken of Him again as the "Image of God." So that the development of thought, if there is such in the Colossians, does not add new ideas.

There are other points in St. Paul's conception of Christ which are brought out in these Epistles. The relation of Christ to the Church which we find in 1 Corinthians we find here taught much more fully, but with the metaphor somewhat changed. There the Church was the whole Body, which built up the Christ. Here the Church is the Body of which Christ is the Head.[2] Even more striking is another expression which occurs in these Epistles: "In him"—that is, in Christ—"all the fulness of the Godhead dwells."[3] Parallel to this we have the statement that it is the Church which is the fulness of Christ, "the fulness of him who all in all is

[1] 1 Cor. viii. 6.
[2] Eph. i. 22-23.
[3] Col. i. 19.

being fulfilled."[1] Then there is another idea which has already occurred in 1 Corinthians, but is found here in a more developed form. In 1 Corinthians everything is represented as being included in Christ. Here it is put in the form that all things are summed up in Him: "'It is God's good pleasure' to gather up in one all things in Christ, both things which are in the heavens and things which are upon the earth."[2] All things are summed up in Christ, and the Christ does not attain His full completeness except in His mystical union with the Church.

When we pass from these Epistles to the Pastorals, there might appear to be something of a change from this lofty tone; but any such change is only the inevitable result of the subject-matter. After all, the concerns of the ordinary life of the Church have to be remembered. They are as necessary as theological conceptions, and we soon find that what these Epistles are really doing is applying the lofty thoughts with which St. Paul's mind was stored to the conditions under which the Church was working. The incidental allusions we find in the Pastoral Epistles to the work and dignity of Christ would not be possible

[1] Eph. i. 23. [2] Eph. i. 9-10.

unless there was behind it a Christology as rich as that we have sketched. The theology, in fact, of the great Epistles is assumed. "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners."[1] "There is one mediator between God and men, himself man, Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all."[2] Through St. Paul Jesus Christ "shews forth his longsuffering, for an ensample of them which should hereafter believe on him unto eternal life."[3] The whole incarnation is described in a well-known passage: "He who was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, received up in glory."[4] The Gospel was given us in Christ Jesus "before times eternal, but hath now been manifested by the appearing of our Saviour, Christ Jesus, who abolished death, and brought life and incorruption to light through the gospel."[5] In these Epistles we find historical facts as to Christ's life referred to, but quite incidentally: His descent from David,[6] His good confession before Pontius Pilate,[7] the words in the former case being perhaps a reminis-

[1] 1 Tim. i. 15. [2] 1 Tim. ii. 5. [3] 1 Tim. i. 16.
[4] 1 Tim. iii. 16; *cf.* Titus iii. 4. [5] 2 Tim. i. 9-10.
[6] 2 Tim. ii. 8. [7] 1 Tim. vi. 13.

cence of the introduction to Romans, while the Passion narrative was always in St. Paul's thoughts. It is a manifestation of the glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ.[1] The language is in all cases consistent with that of St. Paul. It could never have come into being unless there had been behind it a theology at any rate resembling the Pauline, but it would be hazardous to say that any expressions such as those we have mentioned would necessitate Pauline authorship.

II

We must now attempt to analyze more carefully St. Paul's conception of Christ, and the best passage, probably, to begin with will be the opening verses of Romans, where our Lord is described as "born of the seed of David according to the flesh; declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead."[2] Here, quite clearly, one person is referred to—Jesus the Christ, the Lord, the Son of God. But He is described in two aspects —the one according to the flesh, the other according to the spirit, this spirit being further

[1] Titus ii. 13. [2] Rom. i. 3, 4; *cf.* 2 Tim. ii. 8.

defined as the spirit of holiness. We can probably best explain the meaning of these words if we realize that there is just the same antithesis here in regard to the nature of Christ that we find elsewhere as regards the nature of man. There is what we may call the earthly aspect, and there is the heavenly aspect; and it will be convenient to treat these two aspects separately.

What was St. Paul's opinion of the earthly life of Christ, of the man Jesus? It is necessary to refer at this point to a well-known passage, on which great stress is often laid, and from which certain deductions have been made, which are in our opinion incorrect. "Wherefore," he writes, "we know no man henceforth after the flesh; even if we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now we know him so no more."[1] These words have given rise to much speculation. By some they have been taken to mean that St. Paul had been personally acquainted with the Lord; by others they have been supposed to mean that he was indifferent to our Lord's earthly ministry. Neither of these interpretations is, we believe, correct. If anyone will look at the context for a minute, he will see that St. Paul

[1] 2 Cor. v. 16.

has been speaking of his own ministry, and of certain people who had condemned it. They had judged, he says, by appearance only, and it is with that opinion that he is concerned. He claims to be judged, not as what he seems to be, but as one who is a new creature in Christ. He himself, he says, has left off judging according to the flesh—*i.e.*, according to the appearance men present in ordinary human life. There had been a time when he had judged Christ also according to the flesh; just as the Pharisees he had probably considered Him a deluded and harmful impostor. Now he no longer so judges Him. He knows that God was in Him reconciling the world to Himself. It is the same of anyone else who is in Christ. They must all be judged in accordance with their spiritual nature, not in accordance with the earthly manifestations of their nature. What St. Paul, in fact, condemns is the ordinary human judgement.

Probably "earthly life" would represent most accurately the meaning attached by St. Paul to the words "according to the flesh," and it is this earthly life that we must first consider. Jesus, he tells us, was a man of the seed of David,[1] born of a woman, born under the law.[2]

[1] Rom. i. 3, 4. [2] Gal. iv. 4.

He refers to the brethren of the Lord, and especially to James. Jesus' life was holy. Though He bore the likeness of sinful flesh, yet He knew not sin. He was meek and gentle; He was righteous and obedient; He had appointed Apostles who were twelve in number. Now, it is true, of course, that St. Paul does not give much information about the earthly life of our Lord. It must be remembered that his Epistles are subsidiary to the ordinary teaching, and that he would not dwell in them upon anything which was not a matter of difficulty and controversy; and so the fact that he does not refer much to incidents in our Lord's earthly life does not imply that he considered it a matter of little importance. It was, in fact, a proof for him of that self-humiliation which was finally consummated in His death. It was, indeed, a fact of tremendous importance. Though our Lord had been rich, yet for our sakes He had become poor.[1] This does not refer specifically to His poverty in material things, but to the poorness of His earthly life in comparison with His heavenly glory. Yet the context to the passage shews that, in all probability, the poverty of the life of Jesus helped to complete

[1] 2 Cor. viii. 9.

the picture of His self-denial. The same ideas, both generally and specifically, seem to be implied in the well-known passage of Philippians. He emptied himself.[1] He took the form of a servant. He humbled Himself. And in this life of humiliation He had been an example to mankind.

There is no reason, indeed, for thinking that St. Paul in any way disparaged the earthly life of Christ. But it was in His death that the meaning of this life was most fully revealed. St. Paul speaks of the death of Christ as the central point of his teaching. Christ had been betrayed, but before His betrayal He had celebrated the Last Supper with His disciples. He had been crucified—the Pastoral Epistles tell us under Pontius Pilate—and had suffered at the hands of the Jews. He had been buried.

But this was not all. Christ had risen from the dead. To St. Paul this was a central fact of his teaching. "If Christ hath not been raised, then is our preaching in vain."[2] St. Paul had therefore taken much trouble to obtain evidence of the fact. His primary belief came, no doubt, from the vision that had appeared to him of the risen Christ, and from the power that had thus come into his life with the firm

[1] Phil. ii. 7. [2] 1 Cor. xv. 14.

conviction which he had that Christ was alive. But this was not sufficient for him. He had sought and obtained evidence that Christ had risen on the third day. This incidental statement implies a knowledge of the facts recorded in the Gospels, and of the empty tomb. For the Church had fixed the third day as that when our Lord rose from the dead, on the ground that on the third day the tomb was empty. Further, there was evidence that Christ had been seen by a large number of His disciples and followers, and that these visions had not been merely appearances to a single person. On one occasion, certainly, He had been seen by 500 brethren at once, and many of them, so St. Paul tells us, were still living at the time he was writing, to testify to what they had seen. Suggestions have been made that the other appearances of the risen Christ were, like that to St. Paul, subjective, and that it was simply a conviction which he had that Christ was living that was to him the essential point. Nothing can be more erroneous than this, as a representation of St. Paul's own point of view. He clearly looked upon the resurrection of Christ as in some sense a bodily resurrection—a resurrection in human form in a spiritual body. He believed His reappearances were objective

facts to which human testimony could be given, and that the resurrection was the fundamental proof of the Messiahship of Jesus. No doubt it was not merely evidence of external facts that made him believe. External facts alone are rarely strong enough to change a man's whole life. It was the spiritual change which had taken place in him —a change which had been the result of many influences. But, as an intellectual man, St. Paul asked for objective corroboration, and found it in the fact of the resurrection. So for others the resurrection was the test of their belief,[1] and it was by the resurrection that Jesus was declared to be the Son of God.[2]

St. Paul does not normally refer to the actual teaching of Jesus. But the allusions that he does make are sufficient to prove that he was acquainted with records of His words, and considered them authoritative. Certain incidents which happened in the Church of Corinth led to his giving a detailed account of the Last Supper, which is in some ways more complete than that in the Gospels, but agrees with them in all main details.[3] In the same Epistle he refers definitely to the com-

[1] Rom. x. 9. [2] Rom. i. 4.
[3] 1 Cor. xi. 23-25.

mand of our Lord as to the insolubility of marriage,[1] and to the right of ministers of the Gospel to live of the Gospel.[2] While such definite references are not common, resemblances to the words, still more to the teaching, are much more so. "He that rejects me rejects not me, but him that sent me."[3] The Pharisees are those who shut out others from the kingdom.[4] Christians are to bear one another's burdens, according to the law of Christ[5]; the Christian, following the example of his Master, prays for his persecutors.[6] The Church meets together in the name of Jesus. If the language of the Gospels and the Epistles is carefully compared together, the resemblance between the teaching of St. Paul and our Lord will be found to be large, and that particularly as regards the moral teaching. The great hymn of Christian love in the Corinthians is the direct development of the fundamental teaching of our Lord. The evidence, in fact, of the Epistles is quite sufficient to prove the existence of the body

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 10-11; Matt. v. 32; Mark x. 2-12.
[2] 1 Cor. ix. 13; Luke x. 7; Matt. x. 10.
[3] 1 Thess. iv. 8; Luke x. 16.
[4] Gal. iv. 17; Matt. xxiii. 13.
[5] Gal. vi. 2; Mark ix. 35.
[6] 1 Cor. iv. 12, 13; Luke vi. 28; Matt. v. 11.

of teaching which we have in the Gospels, and a reasonable interpretation of the facts would be that the life, the death, the teaching, and the person, of Christ as there recorded, were the foundations of St. Paul's teaching.

III

It is a common thing to say nowadays that St. Paul's interest was only in the Divine Christ—that the earthly Jesus was to him of little concern. It is true, of course, that Jesus as the Messiah was the central point of his teaching; but it is equally true that he knew only of this Divine Christ through His manifestation on earth, and it was only through this manifestation that the redemption had taken place. In reality it is erroneous to make any distinction between the two. To St. Paul the personal unity of Jesus Christ was fundamental. There was no hint of any separation such as some modern scholars would make. He who had appeared in the flesh, Jesus Christ the Lord, was proved by the resurrection to be the Son of God. It would, perhaps, be an anachronism to ask too carefully what was the relation, according to St. Paul, between the two natures of Christ. It was not a question which had been raised.

It was not a question on which he would have a fundamental difficulty, and therefore it was not a question on which he would have developed a theory. Probably, however, St. Paul's point of view would be best explained by an analogy to human nature as he conceived it. As we shall see later, he looked upon man in himself as fundamentally one. Neither his material body nor that life which he shared with the lower animals were to be looked upon as in themselves evil or unnecessary. They were a part of his personality, capable, therefore, of being transformed with his whole personality under the influence of the Divine Spirit. But the real man lies in his spiritual nature, and if this dominates the whole human personality, then man becomes what he was intended to be. Jesus Christ, then, was to St. Paul the Son of God. His spiritual nature had become wholly Divine. In His earthly manifestation He had appeared with all the reality of human nature, as well as with the outward appearance of man. But this human nature was dominated by His Divine and spiritual nature, so that that which was capable of being weak and sinful in others was in Him entirely transformed through His spiritual power. Clearly for St. Paul there was no

dual personality, and no incompleteness of human characteristics, but the whole being of Jesus was dominated by the fact that He was the Son of God.

What did St. Paul think of the nature of the Son? Of His Divine pre-existence there could be no doubt. "God had sent forth His Son."[1] He who pre-existed with all the essential nature of the Godhead counted not this equality with God a thing to be grasped at.[2] Owing to the fact of this pre-existence there was a special relation between Him and the Father. It is described as equality with God. He was the Image of the unseen God. In and through Him, God, the Source of all things, has worked. There is no clear instance of the word "God" being actually applied to the Son in St. Paul's Epistles, although it is a probable interpretation of more than one passage. But St. Paul would have had no difficulty in using the word.

But how had St. Paul conceived of the relationship of the Son to the Father? Here we reach a point where he is not explicit. The problem had not presented itself to him as it presented itself to later generations. We must not, therefore, read into his language

[1] Gal. iv. 4; Rom. viii. 3. [2] Phil. ii. 6, 7.

expressions of later times. We shall, however, discuss this question more fully when we speak of the Spirit.

As Son of God, Christ had a special relation to the world and mankind. He was supreme over the world. All things were made in or through Him. Not only were they made through Him, but in Him they existed. In regard to mankind, we have to remember that Christ was not only man, but representative man. He was a man from heaven. As Adam was the first man, He was the second man. As in Adam life in the ordinary sense of the word came into the world, so in Christ all that was spiritual came in. So, again, as representative man He was the first to rise, the first-fruits of the dead, among many brethren. He is the beginning, the first-born from the dead. As such the Church is His Body, and He is its Head. He has been highly exalted, and has obtained a Name that is above every name. So, in relation to the world, the fact of His Divine and human nature, the fact of His close relationship to the Father, made Him the Representative of God, if we may put it so, on earth. God was unseen, but Christ is His Image. God we cannot know or see, but He has revealed Himself in Christ;

and Christ we can know, and see also as regards His work. God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself. The work that Christ did was the work of God. In and through Christ God has worked in the world.

Throughout the conception of St. Paul is double. On the one side Christ is spoken of always as on equality with God. He is equal to the Father. But in His life on earth He had taken to Himself human nature with all its weakness and infirmity. Hence while as Son of God equality with the Father was something that He had from the beginning, as Christ He was exalted and received a name which was above every name He was thus exalted, not only in Himself, but as representative of humanity.

IV

What was the source of this conception of the Christ? Did St. Paul receive it from Christianity, or did he bring it into Christianity? How much did he receive? how much did he contribute? We have already referred to the theory that St. Paul's conception of the heavenly Christ was something which he did not receive from the early teachers of Christianity, but built up for himself in accord-

ance with contemporary Jewish conceptions, and then brought into the Christian Church. In other words, that while St. Paul might draw his information from the Church concerning details of Christ's teaching or the narrative of His death and resurrection, yet the final conception of the Messiah that he held was not due to any historical information that he had received, but partly to his own spiritual experience, and partly to his intellectual presuppositions. It is, of course, impossible to hold such an idea without reversing the generally accepted conception of the relation of St. Paul's teaching to the Gospels. We have to believe if we would accept the above theory, that St. Mark's Gospel in the present form was due to his influence. To believe this is, in our opinion, really impossible. If anyone will examine the Gospel, he will find a complete absence of any definite allusion to Pauline teaching. Take one important point —the story of the Last Supper. Here we have a narrative where we can compare St. Paul's version with the version in the Gospel. The two stories are entirely consistent with the supposition that they are different accounts of the same event supplementing one another, as such accounts will. But on no ordinary

theory of probability is it possible to believe that the account in St. Mark's Gospel was drawn from that of St. Paul in any way at all. St. Paul's account might be a development of that of St. Mark; that of St. Mark cannot be derived from or developed from that of St. Paul. What is true in this particular case is true about the whole Gospel. Supposing that it had been inspired or influenced by the teaching of St. Paul, it must be inevitable that some trace of Pauline phraseology and Pauline technical terms would have crept in. There is no instance of any such. There are a few passages which are supposed to represent Paulinism because the indifference of meats and other like things is taught, but even here, while the teaching is, of course, fundamentally the same, there is no reference to St. Paul's argument or his way of expressing things. We can understand St. Paul if we believe that he developed the teaching of our Lord as contained in St. Mark. We cannot understand that teaching as derived from St. Paul.

This will become clearer if we consider more fully the relationship of St. Paul to the early Church. We have already pointed out that he must have known about Christianity before his conversion, have had some reasonable

grounds for persecuting the Christian Church, and so that Christianity must have been of such a character as to induce him to persecute it. That is to say, that not only must the early Christians have looked upon Jesus as the Messiah, but also there must have been elements of what St. Paul would think of as a dangerous latitudinarianism already present. A study of the literature which we still possess will corroborate this point of view. There is throughout all the books of the New Testament a common background of religious belief. No doubt there are variations in details; no doubt there are differences of language—for example, in the way in which our Lord is spoken of; but if we take the various groups represented by the Apocalypse, the Epistles of St. James and St. Peter, the Epistles of St. Paul and Hebrews, there are large common elements of belief. Now, all that must go back to a common source, and this St. Paul himself particularly tells us was the case. In the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians he speaks of his gospel, by which he means the central part of his teaching, as follows: "Now I make known unto you, brethren, the gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye received, wherein

also ye stand, by which also ye are saved." Then he further tells us that what he is teaching was what he had heard from others, and later on he corroborates this: "Whether, then, it be I or they, so we preached, and so ye believed."[1] He thus describes the contents of this gospel: "Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; He was buried; He was raised on the third day." St. Paul's gospel was the same as that of other preachers of the primitive Church. He can appeal to common presuppositions; he argues from a common belief.

The starting-point of St. Paul's preaching was the teaching of the primitive Church. What was the relation that this bore to the teaching of Jesus? We have already examined the relations between the Epistles and Gospels, and pointed out certain specific references to our Lord's teaching and many coincidences. A curious method of argument prevails in some quarters, by which it is assumed that St. Paul had no knowledge except when he makes a definite reference. Surely a different deduction is the right one. There were just some few occasions when it was necessary, owing to difficulties in the Church,

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 1, 3, 11.

to refer to the Gospel teaching. On those occasions St. Paul does so. He cannot generally do so, because the main purpose of his Epistles was to deal with questions on which difficulties had arisen—that is to say, questions which were not part of his original preaching, and were not, therefore, part of the original teaching of the Gospel. But throughout the Epistles presuppose both the ordinary teaching of Christianity and the ordinary knowledge of the life of Christ. And that this is the right point of view becomes more probable when we find, as we do, small coincidences between St. Paul's writings and the body of our Lord's teaching. The right deduction, in fact, from the material before us is that St. Paul, like the primitive Church, had the same knowledge of the life, the teaching, the death, the resurrection, of Jesus, as that which is contained for us in our present Gospels.

It has been suggested that it was the conception which St. Paul already had of the Messiah as part of his Jewish creed that was the source of his Christology. No doubt this already-formed conception influenced him. As Christians we look upon the expectation of the Messiah as part of the preparation for His coming. But we have to remember that

this belief of St. Paul's was shared by him with the great body of his countrymen. There are points on which St. Paul might differ from the Galilean peasants. There are points on which, as a theologian, he would be out of sympathy with them, but his Messianic expectation would be largely on the same lines as they. No doubt he was better instructed, no doubt his theological knowledge was more precise than that of the Galilean fishermen, but it would not be fundamentally different. What he expected the other Apostles had expected; on this point he shared his mental equipment with them. So also, if we study the teaching of our Lord, we can see that, speaking as he always does in the current language of religious thought, he assumes on the part of his hearers the same conception of what the Messiah will be that we have already seen was held by St. Paul.

It is clear, then, that all the early teachers of Christianity would share in a somewhat similar expectation of the Messiah, which was part of current Jewish thought. St. Paul did not bring in anything new from this source. But, after all, neither the teaching of St. Paul, nor the teaching of the early Church, nor that of our Lord, is really the same as the Jewish expecta-

tion. Jesus Christ was a different Messiah from what the Jews had expected. That was why the bulk of the people rejected Him. That was why only gradually His immediate followers had learnt to believe in Him. That was why St. Paul had begun by persecuting the Christians, and why his acceptance of Christianity meant such a tremendous change in his life. Whence came the conception of the suffering Messiah? Whence came the belief in One who was meek and mild? Whence came the gentleness and the love and the humility of Christ? Whence came that readjustment of ethical teaching? Whence came that deep spiritual insight? Whence came the complete transformation of the whole Messianic idea? The only answer can be, the life and work of Jesus as it was known to St. Paul. After all, there is a tremendous gulf between St. Paul as a Christian and Saul the persecutor. Some great force must have influenced him. That force was the living Christ.

It was not, then, in his Christology that St. Paul brought any new ideas into Christianity. That goes back to the teaching of Christ, to the Jewish expectation, to the crucifixion and resurrection, to the memories of the earliest

disciples. At his conversion he accepted the belief that Jesus was the Christ. He recognized the significance of His death and resurrection, he perceived in himself a tremendous spiritual change, a spiritual change which was strong enough to transform his whole nature, and was a sign of the power of Christ. Under this influence he took his share in working out for the world the full significance of the life and death of Christ. He had experienced, as others had done, the spiritual influence of His work, and he brought to the interpretation of it all the theological and philosophical training that he possessed. He connected it with the philosophic conception of the representative man which was already part, probably, of Rabbinical teaching. The description of Divine wisdom in the Book of Wisdom provided language suitable to working out the cosmological significance of His being. All that Palestinian philosophy could do he brought to the development of the idea of the Person of Christ. There is development, but there is no change. St. Paul explained and interpreted what he received, but the source of Christian belief in Christ was the life and teaching of Christ.

IV

THE WORK OF CHRIST

Christ the Saviour—Significance of His death—The religious development of St. Paul—Old Testament ideas—His spiritual experience—Christ and the law—The teaching of the Church and of Christ Himself.

THE Christ was the Saviour. That was the fundamental idea with which St. Paul started, and this conception had, like all others, its root in the current eschatological ideas. The Christ it is who saves us in the last great convulsions from the wrath of God which cometh upon the world. When the powers of evil are let loose, those who follow the Son and are called by His name shall be saved. All the forces of evil, concentrated in the "lawless one," will break forth, and the Lord will destroy him by the breath of His nostrils. Then the Lord will know those that are His own, those that bear His seal upon them, and through Him they will receive salvation. This conception of salvation at the Last Day is, it must be remembered, always part of St. Paul's thought.

I

Now, the first point to notice is that this salvation comes particularly through the death of Christ. We are protected from "the wrath," and receive salvation "through our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us, that whether we wake or sleep we may live with him."[1] Here the thought is still eschatological, and this salvation, it is implied, comes in some particular way through the death of Christ for us. Christ died that we might live with Him, whether we wake or sleep. In what way does the death of Christ lead to our life with Him? Here in the two earliest Epistles of St. Paul, in definite connection with his eschatological presuppositions, we have these two thoughts—salvation through the death of Christ, and union with Christ through His death—as recognized formulas.

This thought of the death of Christ is fundamental. Christ crucified is placarded before the world.[2] The word of the Cross is the power of God.[3] Christ crucified is the power of God and the wisdom of God.[4] Christ died for each one of us.[5] In a similar way great

[1] 1 Thess. v. 9, 10. [2] Gal. iii. 1. [3] 1 Cor. i. 18.
[4] 1 Cor. i. 23, 24. [5] 2 Cor. v. 14, 15.

stress is laid on the sufferings of Christ. Our comfort abounds as Christ's sufferings abound to us.[1] This special emphasis, however, seems to be laid, not so much on the death by itself, but on the death, and resurrection together. Christ was delivered to death for our sins, and was raised for our justification.[2] We shall escape condemnation, "for it is Christ who died, or, rather, rose from the dead, who sitteth on the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us."[3] "Christ died and lived again that he might be Lord of both the dead and the living."[4] This death of Christ is on the one side the work of God, who spared not His own Son.[5] On the other side it is an act of self-sacrifice on the part of Christ who gave Himself for our sins.[6] Hence we have two great ethical facts: Christ's death was a voluntary act of self-sacrifice on His part, and also an act of self-sacrifice on the part of the Father; and, further, it is a revelation of the love of Christ and God. Christ loved us, and gave Himself for our sins.[7] The death of Christ was a great Divine act. God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself.[8] It was

[1] 2 Cor. i. 5. [2] Rom. iv. 25. [3] Rom. viii. 34.
[4] Rom. xiv. 9. [5] Rom. viii. 32. [6] Gal. i. 4.
[7] Eph. v. 2; Rom. viii. 35, 39. [8] 2 Cor. v. 18, 19.

God's purpose of salvation. It was a great act of redemption of mankind. How did it help us? What has it done for us?

The primary answer is, Christ gave Himself for our sins, that He might deliver us out of this present evil world.[1] We again notice that the thought springs from an eschatological background. The revelation of the Lord from heaven is to destroy what is evil, and to save the good. But mankind is evil; how, then, can he be saved? As he is sinful, he must perish with the sinful world. The answer was that Christ had died for our sins.[2] This is what St. Paul had learnt from the Church; what he had found in the Scriptures; what he always taught.

II

The fundamental question, then, is, How did Christ's death save us from our sins? If we pause for a moment and look at this question in the light of the history of the Christian Church, we shall find that, while every religious man has felt the reality of his salvation through the death of Christ, and while it has been a fundamental doctrine of Christianity at every period from the beginning, there has been the

[1] Gal. i. 4. [2] Rom. v. 8.

greatest variety in the theological interpretation both of the meaning of the Atonement and of the meaning of the language of St. Paul. While the wealth of language and power of thought with which St. Paul illustrates his teaching is very great, it is often difficult for us to realize its full meaning. Many of his forms of thought were different from our own, and it is hard to explain in accordance with modern ideas the fundamental principles according to which he thought. And more than that, St. Paul's teaching was built up partly, at any rate, on his religious experience rather than on theological presuppositions.

Let us try and reconstitute his religious history. Saul the Pharisee expected the coming of the Messiah, the Son of God. He believed that He would save him and all faithful Israelites, and establish them in His kingdom, and that all the forces of evil would be destroyed. As Saul the Pharisee he looked upon Jesus as a false Messiah, one who had paid the penalty of his imposture on the cross, and was therefore accursed. His conversion meant the reversal of this opinion. In accepting Jesus as the Messiah he necessarily learnt that the Messiah was very different to what he had expected. If the Messiah had died on the

cross, then the death of Christ was not a sign of failure, but of triumph.

Now, St. Paul tells us explicitly that the fundamental fact which he learnt on his conversion was that Christ Jesus died for our sins according to the Scriptures. That is, that Christ's death and its meaning had been foretold. When a Jew who accepted the Scriptures learnt to believe that the death of Jesus was the death of the Messiah, he would search the Scriptures, and learn from them what they had to teach. So he would find in the Book of Isaiah passages such as the following: "He was despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. . . . He has borne our griefs and carried our sorrows. . . . He was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities. . . . With his stripes we are healed, . . . and the Lord hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all. . . . He was numbered with the transgressors, and he bore the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors."[1]

With passages such as this the early Church started. The Scriptures had given the meaning and purpose of the death of Christ; and once the conception had begun, there were many

[1] Isa. liii. 3-12.

other directions in which it developed. The words of Isaiah, although not definitely referring to the language of sacrifice, had clearly suggested the idea, and all our records tell us that Jesus Himself spoke of His death as a sacrifice. Hence very early the description of Christ's death as a sacrifice became part of the teaching of the Church, and as such it would have associated with it everything that was implied by that word. We do not know now, and it is difficult for us to realize, all that the word "sacrifice" implied, either in popular or in any learned theology of that time. Undoubtedly it added much to the conception of what Christ's death had meant, and this idea of sacrifice was clearly in St. Paul's mind, although it is interesting to notice that it is apparently rather secondary in importance. It does not mould his thought; it rather suggests phraseology. He seems to use the language of sacrifice because it had been used by others, because Jesus had used it Himself. We must remember that the sacrificial system would not mean so very much to him, any more than to other Jews of the Dispersion; still, it had helped him to explain his meaning, and so he speaks of the death of Christ as our Passover—as a burnt

sacrifice, as a sin offering, as a sacrifice of atonement, as a peace offering. Each of these aspects suggested ideas which might illustrate his meaning, but they none of them seem to represent his normal method of thought.

There were other Old Testament ideas or ideas of current theology which now received their full meaning in St. Paul's mind. One of the great conceptions of the Old Testament had been that of redemption. God had redeemed Israel. The most typical act of redemption was the emancipation of Israel from Egypt, but always God's provident care had watched over His people, and again and again He had redeemed them from the misfortunes with which they had been overwhelmed; and so now a new redemption initiates the history of the new people, and, like that, it began in sacrifice. The Passover lamb, whose blood was sprinkled on the lintel and doorposts, was the most striking feature of the redemption from Egypt. Further than that, the idea was present in people's minds that in shedding of blood was remission of sins, so this new redemption was a forgiveness of sin. In Him "we have our redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of trespasses."[1]

[1] Eph. i. 7.

And then there was another idea always present in the prophetic books of the Old Testament—the relation of God to His people, and His people to God. Again and again in their past history the people had sinned and exposed themselves to the wrath of God. The prophet came with his message to repent, and his mission was to reconcile Israel once again to God. On account of their sins God exhibited His wrath to His people. What was there that would make Him lay aside that wrath? How could man be once more reconciled to God? How could God be reconciled to man and forgive him his sins? Clearly, to St. Paul's mind and that of the early Church, that act of Christ was a great act of reconciliation, and it was that because it was in a special way the act of God. "All things are from God, who reconciled us to himself through Christ; for God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself."[1]

III

But these ideas represent only the starting-point of St. Paul. It was not his religious beliefs, but his religious experience, which was of supreme importance to him. St. Paul

[1] 2 Cor. v. 18, 19; Rom. v. 10.

believed in the atonement of Christ because he had experienced it. He had accepted Christ as the Messiah ; that necessarily involved the acceptance of the teaching of Christ and the significance of His death. The early Christian Church, in particular the Apostles, who had believed in Christ before the death on the cross, had naturally some difficulty in grasping its full significance. To many of them it was a difficulty which had to be explained. It had not meant so much to those who had grown up in Christian experience. On St. Paul's mind, on the contrary, it had burst as a great revelation. Once accept the fact of the Crucifixion, and the whole attitude of his mind changed. It had seemed an abomination. He realized it now as a tremendous act of self-sacrifice. God had not spared His only Son. Christ had died for the world. What a wonderful exhibition of Divine love! What a striking testimony to the reality of the Redemption as a revelation! Clearly, God must have laid aside His wrath at the sins of man. Clearly, the death of His Son must have reconciled the world to Him. Once accept what the Church had already learned about the death of Christ as God's great act of redemption and reconciliation, as a great sacrifice

offered for mankind—and this St. Paul now believes—and its influence upon a nature such as his must have been tremendous. He believed with all the intensity of his faith arising from his ardent religious feeling. A faith aroused by the love of Christ had stirred up in him a corresponding love for Christ, and this love had transformed him. He had been redeemed. He had been reconciled. This he knew, not as a theological truth, but as a fact of personal experience. He needed no arguments in explanation of why it was so. It was a fact. His whole nature had been transformed.

It is a fact of the utmost importance that we should recognize the reality of this spiritual change in St. Paul before dwelling on his theology of the death of Christ. It is noticeable that in such an Epistle as that to the Galatians, where he had to pass on to a theological discussion, he starts with his religious experiences. He lived in Christ; he had been crucified with Him. "I have been crucified with Christ." "It is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me."[1] My present life is one of union with the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me. The salvation

[1] Gal. ii. 19, 20.

of man has become possible not merely because of something done for him, but because of a change worked in him. We are united to Christ in a real if unexplained spiritual union. That is the real cause of our salvation, because it has produced a complete change in us, and has made us such that we can be saved. It has its roots in our faith in Christ.

Now, all this had been St. Paul's experience, and his theology is really an explanation of this. In particular it explained to him the meaning of Christ's death in relation to the law, and in relation to the call of the Gentiles. There is no part of St. Paul's teaching which is harder for us to realize or understand than that which deals with the law. But quite clearly he had felt in himself that the tyranny of the law had been done away with, and quite clearly he felt that that tyranny had been done away through the death of Christ.

IV

There are two main passages in which St. Paul speaks of the death of Christ in relation to the law. One is in Galatians. There he argues that all those who are subject to the law are under a curse, for it is written, " Cursed

is everyone that continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law to do them."[1] That is to say, as he explained it, it was only by a complete fulfilment of the works of the law that this curse could be avoided and man could obtain life. This he had found to be impossible. He has himself described in the Epistle to the Romans the struggle that he had made to live a life exactly conformable to all the requirements of the Jewish law, and he ends with the striking prayer, "Oh wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the bondage of this death?"[2] He now sees that the curse has been removed for those who accept Christ. "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us; for it is written, Cursed is everyone that hangeth on a tree."[3] This use of the text of Deuteronomy might be described as a brilliant controversial device. There was probably no passage used by the Jews against the Christians more constantly than this with the purpose of proving that Jesus was not the Messiah. Clearly that could not be. Did not the Scriptures say that anyone who hung upon a tree—that is to say, anyone who was crucified—was cursed? How could one who was accursed be

[1] Gal. iii. 10. [2] Rom. vii. 24. [3] Gal. iii. 13.

the Messiah? It was the normal exegesis of the time. No doubt St. Paul had often heard it. No doubt he had often used it himself. No other text seemed better able to support their claim that a crucified Messiah was the cause of offence to God and man. Now St. Paul takes it and answers the argument. Yes, it is quite true that Christ had been crucified. That means that He has Himself borne the whole curse of the law. That curse was therefore expiated, and man was free.

Even more remarkable is the language in Ephesians and Colossians. Christ had blotted out the handwriting of the ordinances which were against us. He had nailed it to the cross. He had abolished in His flesh the enmity, the law of commandments.[1] Here again we find that freedom from the harsh system of legal enactments is connected by St. Paul with the death of Christ upon the cross. The cross is the sign of man's freedom, and ultimately, of course, the reason why St. Paul is able to see this is that the cross had meant freedom for himself. It had meant freedom for himself because he had realized that, if God was love, and had given His only begotten Son, then this harsh legal system,

[1] Col. ii. 13-15; Eph. ii. 15.

with all its curses and its impossible demands on human nature, could only represent a very imperfect revelation. That was the fundamental thought to St. Paul, and sometimes when he is proving this from the Scriptures he naturally uses methods of exegesis which would carry greater conviction in his day than they do to us.

A further result to St. Paul of the significance of the death of Christ had been that it was through this that the Gentiles had received salvation. In the passage from the Epistle to the Galatians which we have just quoted St. Paul continues "that the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ."[1] And, again, in the Epistle to the Ephesians he tells us how "in Christ Jesus ye who in time past were far off have been made nigh by the blood of Christ. For he is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition."[2] Here, probably, the metaphor in St. Paul's mind is that of the covenant sacrifice. According to the Book of Exodus, the old covenant had been inaugurated by the shedding of blood. There had been now a new covenant in Christ, which had abolished the old and

[1] Gal. iii. 14. [2] Eph. ii. 13-15.

made peace where there was enmity. Again the mode of thought is certainly not our thought. In this passage, as in the previous one, St. Paul's arguments are exactly in accordance with his theological training, and with the thoughts and ideas of his time.

But the truth that he was expressing in language which might pass away was the eternal one. For what St. Paul had realized was that the substitution of the principle of faith instead of law, of loyal adherence to a person instead of obedience to a rigid code, the promulgation of the love of God through Christ for the whole world, had created conditions which would enable the Gentiles as well as the Jews to receive the Messianic salvation, and would thus fulfil the most universal dreams of the Hebrew prophets.

There is only one more comment that we have to make on these passages. In the Epistle to the Colossians St. Paul tells us how the cross itself was an act of triumph over evil spirits. We will give the passage in Bishop Lightfoot's paraphrase:

"Taking upon Him our human nature, He stripped off and cast aside all the powers of evil which clung to it like a poisonous garment. As a mighty conqueror He displayed

these His fallen enemies to an astonished world, leading them in triumph on His cross."[1]

It was a part of the Messianic expectation that the Messiah should triumph over the powers of evil, and the Book of Revelation represents to us a picture of the last great victory over evil. But the Christian soon saw that this triumph over evil had been gained on the cross itself. If we were to translate the idea into modern phraseology, we should say that the death of Christ on the cross was a great triumph of good over evil, and to St. Paul, as to all Christians, it was symbolical of the defeat and scattering of all the spiritual powers that war against the God of mankind.

We have already noticed that it is difficult, when we are dealing with St. Paul's language to say when symbolism begins. No doubt he believed, as all his contemporaries believed, in malevolent spiritual beings endowed with personality; no doubt his language corresponds to a certain extent to some such conception; but it is noticeable how often, when he is speaking of sin, he tends to evade the purely personal language. What was a fact to him was that the cross of Christ had destroyed the evil tendencies in himself. He

[1] Lightfoot, "Colossians," ed. 2, p. 178.

describes that, as everyone would at the time, as the defeat of evil spirits. What was real to him was his own experience. What was conventional was the language. We are not doing any injustice or exhibiting any unreality in the interpretation of the words if we refer them primarily to the spiritual experience, and make their truth independent of the fact whether or not we believe in evil spirits. It is sometimes really difficult to know how significant even to St. Paul himself was this belief.

V

It is part of the inexhaustible character of Christian teaching and of St. Paul's language that no attempt to analyze his teaching is ever complete, and all that it is possible for us to do is to comment, as we have done, on certain leading thoughts. There is much that we have omitted. There is much that the further study of St. Paul's teaching from other points of view would bring out. It remains now to consider the question of the relation of the teaching of St. Paul to the teaching of the Church.

Fundamentally, the significance of the death of Christ was part of what St. Paul learnt from the primitive Church and shared with

them. That this is so is quite clear in accordance with his own definite statement, which we have quoted above, that what he had received, and what others preached, was that Christ Jesus died for our sins in accordance with the Scriptures. There is no reason for doubting this statement, and a study of early Christian literature will fully corroborate it. No doubt it required some time for the first Christians to overcome the shock of Christ's death and to realize its full meaning. The early tentative stage is represented for us in the Acts of the Apostles, but the prominent position which the death of Christ and all that it did for us holds in early Christian literature is conclusive evidence. In no sense can the Book of Revelation be described as a Pauline work. But one of its most predominating thoughts is the picture of the Lamb that had been slain, and that vision unites the significance of Christ's death with its sacrificial interpretation. The same is true of Hebrews and 1 Peter. Neither of these works is really Pauline, although both are influenced by Pauline teaching. Both develop the significance of the death of Christ, but each in its own way.

A further proof might be found in St. Paul's own method of teaching. Quite clearly, he is

always dealing with a fact the significance of which is recognized. There are some things which he has to prove. In other cases it was only necessary for him to allude to what was known. When he comes to deal with the relation of Christ's death to the law or to the call of the Gentiles, then he has to prove his point as best he can ; but one of the facts that he can assume is that the Church recognizes that the death of our Lord meant the remission of sins---that Christ had died for our sins. That he could assume, whatever else he had to prove.

This is quite clear, but it is apparent also that, while the fundamental doctrine represents the normal teaching of the Christian Church, a certain amount of the development was definitely Pauline, and it may be a little difficult to distinguish where the particular teaching peculiar to himself begins. It was not, I think, to him that we owe the sacrificial interpretation of the death of Christ. He never lays emphasis on it, but refers to it always by allusions, and it was not he who developed its significance. Moreover, it is probably early, as the parallel evidence of the Apocalypse suggests. But all that he says about the passing away of the

law and the inclusion of the Gentiles seems to represent ideas specifically his own. We do not mean that these two thoughts were in themselves necessarily due to St. Paul. That is a question which we shall discuss later; but that the arguments by which he defends them, and in particular the connection which he finds between these ideas and the Crucifixion, come from himself cannot, I think, be doubted. His arguments do not appeal to us. They are hardly, perhaps, such as the early Church would have formulated. But they are quite in accordance with the theological training and intellectual conceptions of St. Paul. He is, in fact, using his training as a Pharisee to enable him to forge arguments destructive to Pharisaism.

But there is a further and deeper question. What is the relation of the significance that the early Church saw in the death of Christ to the teaching of Jesus Himself? Christianity became possible when it was recognized that the Crucifixion was not a sign of failure, but a sign of triumph. It was, in fact, part of the ordained purpose of God. The first Christians learnt to believe this because they believed in the Resurrection, and then because they found that the Crucifixion fulfilled much

that they had not understood before in Scripture ; that is because they experienced its full meaning and significance in their own religious lives. But were they helped also by any teaching of our Lord ? Did He foretell His death ? Did He understand its significance ? Was it part of His conception of His office ? Clearly, if we believe the Gospels, He did teach about His death. They represent Him to us as explicitly foretelling it. More important than the explicitness of the prophecies is the way in which they are introduced. There is no incident which bears the marks of reality more clearly than the confession of St. Peter. Still more the action of our Lord which followed it, and St. Peter's rebuke. The early part of our Lord's ministry seems to represent Him as gradually winning over His disciples to the belief that He was the Messiah. So soon as they have learnt that, He begins to make them realize how different He was from the Messiah that they expected. He tells them of His death and suffering, and immediately Peter rebukes Him. The whole series of events and the attitude of the disciples are absolutely natural. Moreover, unless we presuppose that our Lord intended to teach everything which was implied in the meaning of His

death, we have to omit much of what is most distinctive in His teaching. His ethical teaching depends largely upon the thought of self-sacrifice, and in particular His own sacrifice of Himself; and if this be so, there can be no reason for doubting that the explicit allusions to the significance of His death come from Him. Always we shall find that the Christian teaching is the development of the principles which Christ taught; and if, as we believe, He said that the Son of man came not to be "ministered unto, but to minister," that He "gave his life as a ransom for many"; if He implied in the Last Supper, as all our accounts represent, the sacrificial significance of His death, then we find that it is quite natural that the starting of what the Christian Church taught should be what Christ Himself had taught them.

In the development of this thought St. Paul fills a considerable but not exclusive place. The Atonement was a fact, not a doctrine, and it was as a fact that it was accepted by the early Church. The meaning and significance of the Atonement have formed one of the chief subjects discussed in the Christian Church throughout the Christian centuries. The starting-point was not St. Paul's lan-

guage or thought. It was the fundamental fact of Christian history. The Christian Church had already begun to speculate on the meaning of the death of Christ. St. Paul carries on and deepens the discussion. Some of his thoughts become a common part of Christian tradition. Some others pass away. Part of his most distinctive teaching dealt with what was only a passing controversy. Part of what he taught was never quite understood. A good deal of his language has been misinterpreted in different periods of Church history, and has formed the basis of partial representations of his teaching. For there has been much which has been very imperfect in Christian theology, both in its interpretation of St. Paul's language and its estimation of the idea of the Atonement, and fundamentally we must remember that the Atonement has always been greater than anything said about it.

V

THE SPIRIT

The Messianic expectation—The experience of the Church—The spirit of man and the Spirit of God—The Spirit personal—Christ and the Spirit—The Father, the Son, and the Spirit.

One of the characteristics of the Messianic age was to be the gift of the Spirit. It was the endowment of the Messiah, as described in the Book of Isaiah: "And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord."[1] "The spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek."[2] It was the endowment also of the people of the Messiah, according to the expectations of the Book of Joel: "And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your

[1] Isa. xi. 2. [2] Isa. lxi. 1.

daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions: and also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit."[1] And in well-known passages in Ezekiel we read: "Thus saith the Lord God: Behold I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, O my people. . . . And I will put my spirit in you and ye shall live."[2] And again: "A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you. . . . And I will put my spirit within you and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments and do them."[3]

There was no part of the religious experiences of the Apostolic period of which the first Christians were more certain than that of the gift of the Spirit. According to the Acts of the Apostles the preaching of Christianity had been inaugurated by a great and conspicuous outpouring of the Spirit. The time foretold by the Prophet Joel seemed to have arrived. But even those who are inclined to doubt the historical character of that narrative must be convinced by the continuous allusions to the

[1] Joel ii. 28, 29. [2] Ezek. xxxvii. 12, 14.
[3] Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27.

manifestation of the Spirit in the normal life of the Church. It is quite certain that phenomena occurred, however they may be explained, which were described as the work of the Spirit, and were felt to be an inspiration from God. The evidence for this permeates the whole literature of the Apostolic period, and is particularly conspicuous in the writings of St. Paul. He recognized, too, that what he believed and experienced was also the belief and experience even of his opponents. This was one of those points of contact to which he could appeal as common with those who differed from him in other respects. "Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or the hearing of faith?"[1] he asks the Galatians.

This gift of the Spirit was realized by the possession of supernatural or miraculous powers, by the phenomenon called "speaking with tongues," by the power of prophecy or inspired preaching, by quickened zeal and earnestness, by a richer, fuller, better life. "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance."[2]

We have to ask how St. Paul conceived of the Spirit.

[1] Gal. iii. 2. [2] Gal. v. 22.

I

It is quite clear that the word "Spirit" is used in a double sense. There is the human spirit and the Divine Spirit. The clearest passage is in the Epistle to the Romans: "The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God."[1] The psychology of St. Paul has always presented great difficulties, because he did not think of it, and did not attempt to express it, in a scientific manner. And the difficulty has been increased by the interpreters, who have tried to find in his writings the evidence of a dualism derived from Hellenic thought. This is erroneous, and will not bear examination. There is no fundamental dualism in St. Paul. His method of thought was that of the Old Testament, and in his own mind he seems to have conceived of human nature as one. The whole man can be sanctified, as the whole man can become the slave of sin; but just as the weak part of human nature, the flesh, is specially liable to be influenced by evil, so there is a faculty in man, the spirit, which is responsive to the Divine Spirit. The one may become the seat of sin, which can thus

[1] Rom. viii. 16.

tyrannize over the whole nature of the man; the other, through the power of the Divine Spirit, is strengthened to overpower all evil tendencies.

This is the gift of the Spirit: "God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts."[1] This Spirit is the "Divine or Holy Spirit," the "Spirit of Christ," the "Spirit of God."

So far there is not much difficulty. The fact of the Christian experience is undoubted, and the normal explanation of that experience is equally clear. There can be no doubt that St. Paul believed that his own inspiration and the transformation of his life were due to a Divine influence or emanation, which had seized upon and dominated his life, and that there was a faculty in himself responsive to its working. But here our difficulty begins. It is not easy at first sight to know what St. Paul thought of the Spirit in its own nature. About its work he is clear; and even if the phenomena are strange and unusual, their general nature and the nature of the new life is something we can understand. But as to St. Paul's opinion about what the Spirit itself is we have great difficulty, probably because his way of looking at things was very

[1] Gal. iv. 6.

different from our own. There are three main questions: Did St. Paul think of the Spirit as personal? What is the relation of the Spirit to Christ? How did St. Paul conceive the relation of the Father to the Son and Spirit?

II

Now, here is one of the points where there is a great difference in thought between the habit of mind in our own day and in the Apostolic times. According to Christian tradition, the Holy Spirit is Personal, and is looked upon as one of the Three Persons of the Trinity. The modern mind is inclined to distrust the whole conception, and when a Christian dogmatist attempts to find a "Personal" Spirit in St. Paul's writings, it accuses him of forcing the Apostolic thought into his own dogmatic framework. It is very probable that it is the modernist commentator who is really guilty of a forced interpretation.

Our ordinary habit at the present day is to think of spirit as something impersonal. We normally use the term in such an expression as the "spirit of freedom," to mean a certain tendency of mind; or at the most we think of it as some impersonal influence arising from outside. We are naturally inclined to

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interpret St. Paul also in that way, but in doing so we probably fail to give adequate force to the language that he uses, and are also unhistorical in our exegesis. We are interpreting him by the ideas of the Twentieth century, and not by those of his own time.

Let us examine a well-known passage describing the Spirit as the source of gifts: "To each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit to profit withal. For to one is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom; and to another the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another faith, in the same Spirit; and to another gifts of healings, in the one Spirit; and to another workings of miracles; and to another prophecy; and to another discernings of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; and to another the interpretation of tongues: but all these worketh the one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one severally even as he will."[1] The argument of this passage is very significant. Spiritual gifts are so varied that it might be held that there were many spirits from whom they came. Very probably some of the Corinthians did so think. Just as it was well known that there was a whole army of evil spirits, some more

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 7-11.

important and powerful than the others, who were the cause of all our evil thoughts, so it was natural to think that there were many good spirits, and very probably the Corinthians were arguing that one man had a better spirit than another. Against these St. Paul asserts clearly that the Spirit was one, just as the Father and the Son were one, and bases on this unity of the Spirit the unity of the life of the Church.

The particular point of importance for us to notice is that it would be quite natural for the Corinthians to ascribe the spiritual manifestations which they experienced to the influence of many spirits, which they would think of in some sense as personal. This opinion is thus described by Mr. Lake:

"According to popular opinion, the world was full of spirits, good and bad, which were able to take possession of, or to obsess, not only human beings, but even inanimate objects. One of the main reasons for which the ordinary man took part in religious ceremonies was to avoid obsession by evil dæmons, and to secure obsession or inspiration by good spirits."[1]

[1] Kirsopp Lake, "The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul," p. 192.

This belief in a plurality of good spirits St. Paul combats. To him the Spirit was one, and this, he held, was of immense importance for the right conception of the unity of the Christian life. But while he combats the idea of plurality, the language that he employs seems to imply that he shares (as it was natural that he should) the idea of personality. The one Spirit is correlated with the one Lord and the one God, and the action of this one Spirit is spoken of in language which we should undoubtedly think of as implying personality. "But all these worketh the one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one severally as he will."

When we pass to other passages of the Epistles, we find a great deal which seems to support this conclusion. There are, of course, many passages which are ambiguous; there are, however, none which are inconsistent with a conception of personality, and many which seem to imply it. Take, for example, the eighth chapter of the Romans: The Spirit of God dwells in us.[1] We are led by the Spirit.[2] "The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God."[3] And most remarkable is the final passage:

[1] Rom. viii. 11. [2] Rom. viii. 14. [3] Rom. viii. 16.

"And in like manner the Spirit also helpeth our infirmity: for we know not how to pray as we ought; but the Spirit himself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered; and he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God."[1]

There is another very remarkable passage in 1 Corinthians. The Spirit is the organ of revelation, searcheth, knoweth, teacheth: "But unto us God revealed them through the Spirit: for the Spirit *searcheth* all things, yea, the deep things of God. For who among men knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of the man which is in him? even so the things of God none *knoweth*, save the Spirit of God. . . . Which things also we speak, not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Spirit teacheth."[2]

Then there is a passage in 2 Corinthians, not, indeed, free from ambiguity, but very much more impressive if we accept the idea that St. Paul considered the Spirit to be personal: "Ye are our epistle, written in our hearts, known and read of all men; being made manifest that ye are an epistle of Christ,

[1] Rom. viii. 26, 27. [2] 1 Cor. ii. 10-13.

ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God."[1]

There are other remarkable passages in later Epistles: "Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, in whom ye were sealed unto the day of redemption."[2] "But the Spirit saith expressly, that in later times some shall fall away from the faith."[3]

Now, no claim is made that these passages are free from difficulty. We cannot demonstrate definitely St. Paul's opinion. But if we remember what were the intellectual conceptions of St. Paul's day, and the language used elsewhere in the New Testament, the interpretation of the Spirit as personal becomes the natural one. And a careful reader will find that a fuller meaning is given to St. Paul's language throughout if he realizes that St. Paul always conceived of the Spirit as acting in a way which we should call personal. It may be true that the idea of personality was not so clearly defined in the ancient world as it is with us, and that St. Paul had never asked himself the question if or how the personality of the Spirit was distinguished from the personality of the Father; but any difficulty that we may have in understanding him will be

[1] 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3. [2] Eph. iv. 30. [3] 1 Tim. iv. 1.

much diminished if we refrain from reading into the New Testament our modern conceptions. The rationalist interpretation is always least true to the mind of St. Paul.

III

It is well known that a certain number of theologians, and particularly Professor Pfleiderer, have contended that to St. Paul Christ was the Spirit. This interpretation cannot be maintained, but the fact that it can be held is most significant. It shows how pronounced is the idea of personality in relation to the Spirit, and also how intimate to St. Paul is the relationship between the Spirit and Christ, between the work of the Spirit and the work of Christ.

The passage where the identification seems most complete is one in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians: "Now the Lord is the Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. But we all, with unveiled face reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit."[1] It is clear that we must here trans-

[1] 2 Cor. iii. 17, 18.

late "the Spirit," and clearly a very close relationship between the Lord and the Spirit is implied. We notice, however, that the force of the argument for identity of the Spirit with Christ is weakened very considerably by the phrase "the Spirit of the Lord," immediately afterwards.

St. Paul is arguing that the ministry with which he is entrusted is far more glorious than that of the Old Covenant. At the reading of the Old Testament there remained a veil unlifted, a sign of the veil which lay on the hearts of the hearers. This veil has been done away in Christ. If a man turn to the Lord, the veil is lifted from his heart. That is because Christ means the Spirit, for where Christ's Spirit is there is the freedom of the Gospel. Our continuous progress from glory to glory comes from the Lord, who is manifested in the Spirit.

There is clearly a very close connection, which implies an identity of work. The explanation is suggested by the following passage: "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the spirit, if so be that the *Spirit of God* dwelleth in you. But if any man hath not the *Spirit of Christ*, he is none of his. And if *Christ* is in you, the body is dead because of sin; but

the spirit is life because of righteousness. But if *the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead* dwelleth in you, he that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall quicken also your mortal bodies through *his Spirit* that dwelleth in you."[1] A careful study of the above passage shows a very close relationship between God, the Spirit, and Christ. The Spirit is the Spirit of God and of Christ. The Spirit is in us, and Christ is in us, yet the Spirit is distinguished from Christ as the Spirit of Him that raised Him from the dead, and it is He that works in us through the Spirit. The thought which seems most adequately to explain such a passage seems to be that Christ dwells in us through the Spirit, which is the Spirit equally of the Father and of the Son.

And here we reach the limits of St. Paul's language. It is Christ in us that is identified with the Spirit, because He dwells in us through His Spirit. But the Christ that lived and was crucified is never in any way identified with the Spirit. The distinction is clear and emphatic.

Christ dwells in us through the Spirit, but this Spirit has a close relation to the Father.

[1] Rom. viii. 9-11.

The Spirit of Christ comes from the Father. "Because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts."[1] And not only is it the Spirit of Christ coming from the Father, it is the Spirit of God. God's love is poured forth in our hearts through the Holy Spirit which is given us.[2] Our union with God in love comes through the Spirit. "The Spirit searcheth all things, even the deep things of God."[3] "The things of God none knoweth save the Spirit of God."[4] We are a temple of God because God's Spirit dwelleth in us.[5]

Always God is represented as working in us by the Spirit, and one of the clearest facts that must emerge from a careful study of all the passages in which the word occurs is the close connection of the Spirit with God, and its coming forth from Him.

Now, the question must inevitably occur to us, How did St. Paul think of this relationship of God, Christ, Spirit, or the Father, the Son, and the Spirit? Within certain limits and in certain directions the three words are almost interchangeable. St. Paul can speak of God dwelling in us, of Christ in us and we in Him,

[1] Gal. iv. 6. [2] Rom. v. 5. [3] 1 Cor. ii. 10.
[4] 1 Cor. ii. 11. [5] 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17, vi. 19.

of the Spirit within us. He can say the Spirit of God or the Spirit of Christ. He can speak of God being in Christ, and of the Spirit being in Christ. He can speak of us as in Christ or in the Spirit. But he can also speak of Christ being raised by the Spirit. It is difficult for us to see quite how St. Paul thought of these things.

And then there is another set of passages where the three are co-ordinated together in a more striking manner: "Now there are diversities of gifts, but *the same Spirit.* And there are diversities of ministrations, *and the same Lord.* And there are diversities of workings, but *the same God* who worketh all things in all."[1] God, the Lord, the Spirit, are co-ordinated together; the Spirit is one, as are God and the Lord—there is but one Source of all these gifts; and in these gifts the Three work together. Then there is the well-known grace: "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost."[2] And then, again, in Ephesians: "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as also ye were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all."[3]

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 4-6. [2] 2 Cor. xiii. 14. [3] Eph. iv. 4, 5.

What ultimately does this language imply, parallel as it is to other passages in the New Testament? The Christian Church, studying these passages, has formulated the doctrine of the Trinity; and after a careful and full study of St. Paul's words it is difficult not to believe that he thought of the Spirit as a beneficent Divine personality coming forth from the Father, being of both the Father and the Son, dwelling in and inspiring every faithful Christian, making the power of Christ, of whom He is, real in us, inspiring our higher nature, giving us a new personality, a new power, a new life.

St. Paul did not define—he believed. What he believed and experienced the Christian Church also believed and experienced. The coming of the Spirit—the promise of the Father—was a real fact. The theology was not thought out; all the implications of the language used were not realized. We cannot say that St. Paul formulated a doctrine of the Trinity in Unity. It is difficult to conceive how he realized in his own mind the relations of the Spirit, Son, and Father; but the traditional theology of the Church alone seems to co-ordinate and account for all the different elements of his belief.

IV

Two difficult problems are raised by the questions of the Personality of the Spirit, and the development of the idea of the Christian Trinity.

In the Old Testament, the Spirit of Jehovah as a means of expressing His living power is of frequent occurrence. God's Spirit works in creation, it is the source of intellectual gifts, it inspires the prophets, it is the prerogative of the Messiah, the source of holiness. But a contrast is noted with the New Testament. The Spirit is not represented as the source of ordinary gifts, as the endowment of all the people of God; it is the source only of the special inspiration of the prophet. The prophets, however, as we have seen, expect a great outpouring of the Spirit on all the people of God in the days to come. Nor is there any separate personality ascribed to the Spirit. "The Old Testament attributes personality to the Spirit only in so far as it identifies the Spirit of God with God himself, present and operative in the world or in men."[1]

When we pass to the theology of the Christian Church, the Spirit is habitually spoken of

[1] Swete in "Hastings' Bible Dictionary," ii. 411.

as personal, and the personality of the Spirit is made the subject of dogmatic statements. The question is, When did the new thought come in? If the argument of the present chapter be correct, the answer is that the belief in the personality of the Spirit was the necessary outcome of the Apostolic preaching. What is certain is that the gift of the Spirit was one of the most real of the experiences of the early Church, and that the expectation of the prophets had been fulfilled, and all God's people received the gift. It is equally certain that the Spirit is spoken of, not only in St. Paul's writings, but in St. John's, in language which seems to imply personality, and that there is a certain separateness which we do not find in the Old Testament. If that be so, we may hold that the teaching of the Christian Church was the natural interpretation of the language of the New Testament.

But a further point arises as to the relation of this teaching to the language of our Lord Himself. This is one of the fundamental questions the answer to which will ultimately depend upon the view taken of the teaching of Jesus as recorded in St. John's Gospel. In St. Luke's Gospel the risen Lord answers His disciples that He will send forth the promise

of the Father, and bids them remain in the city until they be clothed with power from on high.[1] In the Acts of the Apostles He tells them that they shall receive power when the Holy Ghost is come upon them.[2] At the close of St. Matthew's Gospel there is the baptismal formula. It is, however, in St. John's Gospel that the fullest and richest teaching about the Holy Spirit is found. Does that represent a late development of Christian speculation, or is it directly based on the teaching of our Lord? It is a problem which meets us in various connections, which will confront us more than once in relation to St. Paul's teaching. It is sufficient to say at present that, if the teaching attributed to our Lord in St. John's Gospel on this and other points be directly based upon words of our Lord, if these discourses, however much they may be developed in style, are historical in matter, the growth of Christian doctrine becomes an easy problem; if they are not historical, it is full of perplexity and uncertainty. There is always a gap which has to be filled up somehow.

The chief problem in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity is caused by the difficulty of

[1] Luke xxiv. 49. [2] Acts i. 8.

understanding how writers of the Apostolic age thought of the relations of Father, Son, and Spirit. What all agree upon is what may be called an Economic Trinity. The work of the Father as the Ruler and Creator, and the Source of all authority and power; the work of the Son as Redeemer and Revealer; the work of the Holy Spirit in sanctifying and inspiring—all this is clear and certain. There is throughout a distinctness of function and a community of action. The first beginnings of formal teaching were contained in the baptismal formula. Out of this was developed the Christian creed, and the Christian doctrine of the Trinity is the natural systematization and co-ordination of the Apostolic teaching. That formula is ascribed to the post-resurrection teaching of our Lord, and is consequently the subject of much doubt and criticism. But again we may say clearly that the language of St. Paul, the development of the doctrine of the Church, and the whole of Apostolic teaching on the Divine nature, become natural and possible if they were based on some such sayings of our Lord.

VI

FAITH, JUSTIFICATION, SALVATION

The problem—Sin—Law—Faith—Justification—Salvation —The source of St. Paul's teaching—Its influence.

THE religious and moral ideal of the Jew might be summed up in the word "just." And that meant to him "upright in the sight of God." It is interesting to contrast this ideal with that of the Greek and the Roman. The Hellenic conception was summed up in the word "virtue"; and the moral ideal was represented by a word which added to the meaning of "good" the associations of what was beautiful and honourable in the sight of men. The Greek moral ideal implied all that was of good report in the eyes of man. So the Roman ideal was based on the conception of duty to the State, of the fulfilment of all the honourable obligations which a man's position in the world and his duty to his country demanded; and the only typically Roman philosophy, the later Stoicism, developed this ideal.

In contrast with these, the Jewish ideal was that of uprightness in the sight of God. Primarily and originally it was uprightness in this life. It spoke of the "blessedness of the man whose delight is in the law of the Lord . . . whatsoever he doeth it shall prosper." To this had been added the later apocalyptic ideal of salvation in the Last Day when the Messiah comes, implying a judgement and life in the Kingdom of God. Fundamentally this uprightness was gained by keeping "the law"; the conception of law might be differently interpreted by different Jewish sects, but all would probably agree that the man who kept the law was justified in God's sight, and the greater number of people would also add, "and would obtain salvation at the Last Day."

Quite early the question how a man could be justified became acute in the Christian Church. How could he be held upright by God? What had he to do? And the answer turned on the law. The Messiah had come. Jesus was the Messiah. All Christians alike recognized that. Those who became followers of Him could receive salvation at the Last Day. But what were the obligations of discipleship? Naturally, the first disciples went on living their ordinary Jewish life. But then came the

conversion of the Gentiles, and inevitably the question must arise, What did Christianity mean for them? The Jew, when he believed and was baptized, went on living as a Jew. What had the Gentile to do? What were his obligations? Must he accept the whole Jewish law? Some said, Yes. Or might he go on living just as he had done before, take part in idol feasts, and live the ordinary non-moral Gentile life? His sins would be forgiven. We are not concerned now with the details of the history of the controversy. We are concerned rather with St. Paul's solution of the questions asked.

St. Paul had been more eager for righteousness than any of his contemporaries. He was zealous for God, zealous for the law. The desire to fulfil God's will was always with him an overmastering passion. With him it was not primarily a zeal for salvation. The high-minded Pharisee kept the law as the greatest thing on earth. He had a lofty ethical ideal, and this had a profound effect on St. Paul. It is one of the limitations of the commentator, whose one clue to the interpretation of Pauline thought is eschatology, that he forgets that fundamentally and originally it was uprightness in God's sight in this life that was the

Jewish aim, an aim which is equally present in Christianity. Christianity, rightly interpreted, is not always or only an other-world religion.

The strength with which St. Paul held his Jewish ideal made the change, when it came, far more complete for him. He could not remain satisfied, as could many early Christians, with a compromise. He saw the whole issue clearly and logically, and the needs of controversy compelled him to formulate his opinions. Hence on this subject St. Paul expounds his views more systematically and methodically than on any other point. So far we have generally had to piece his opinions together from isolated inferences. Now it is different. First controversially in Galatians he hammers out his principles; then in Romans quietly and calmly, with the strength that comes after the conflict, when the victory is won, in a manner true for all time, he lays down his conclusions. We cannot, therefore, do better that follow his own argument.

I

St. Paul's starting-point is the fact of sin. Mankind everywhere had fallen away from the will of God, and had exposed themselves to His wrath. This the Apostle proves in that

tremendous indictment of his age which occupies the main part of the first three chapters of the Romans. The heathen world had sinned. All would admit that: certainly the Jews with whom St. Paul was arguing. Was not their usual expression "sinners of the Gentiles"? But it was equally true of the Jew, who, although he knew the law, dishonoured God by breaking the law. And Scripture, without making any exceptions, had emphasized that all had sinned: "There is none righteous, no, not one; there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God."[1]

But St. Paul not only proves his thesis by objective fact; he can appeal to his own subjective experience. He describes to us the struggle which had taken place in his own self. He had devoted all his power to doing what he believed to be the will of God. The law had put before him the ideal that he was to fulfil; he had striven to do so, but he had always failed. "Sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me . . . what I would, that I do not; but what I hate, that do I. Now it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me . . . I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no

[1] Rom. iii. 10, 11 (Ps. xiv. 1 *et seq.*).

good thing; for to will is present with me: but how to perform that which is good I find not. . . . I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members." And then he concludes: "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"[1]

The fundamental fact, then, was that of sin. But what was sin? On this point St. Paul was naturally not so explicit, for the fact that he was dealing with was one recognized by his contemporaries, and was a fundamental part of his thought. The conception of sin we owe to the Jew, and it meant this: Evil looked at as an act of rebellion against God. Just as "righteousness" meant morality looked at as fulfilling God's will, as uprightness in the sight of God, so sin was immorality and wrong looked at in relation to God. The one represents the state of a man who fulfils God's will, the other means rebellion and alienation.

St. Paul assumes that we know what sin is; but he is not without his theory as to its origin, and he looks at it from two sides. He has an historical theory of its origin, and a psychological theory of its working. "Through

[1] Rom. vii. 11-25.

one man sin entered into the world." In Adam all had sinned. "By the trespass of the one the many died. . . . Through one trespass the judgement came unto all men to condemnation. Through the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners."[1] Man had fallen from the right way, and although there was no guilt where there was no law, yet all men were in a state of disobedience to God's will and alienation from Him.

There are certain points to be noticed about this theory of the origin of sin. In the first place it is introduced quite incidentally so as to enable St. Paul to bring out more fully the work of Christ. The argument of the whole Epistle is quite independent of it, for St. Paul's conception of the need of redemption and the process of salvation is dependent not on any theory of the origin of sin, but on the fact—the undoubted fact—of the sinfulness of the world and of human nature. In the second place, there can be no doubt that this is one of the points which St. Paul owes more particularly to the current philosophy and phraseology of the schools of the day. Excellent illustration is given by a late Jewish writing—the Apocalypse of Ezra.

[1] Rom. v. 12-19.

"O Lord, my Lord, was it not thou who in the beginning, when thou didst form the earth . . . didst speak and commandedst the dust, so that it gave thee Adam, a lifeless body? . . . And Thou leddest him into Paradise, which thy right hand did plant before ever the earth came forward, and to him thou commandest one only observance of thine, but he transgressed it. Forthwith thou appointedst death for him and for his generations; and from him were born nations and tribes, peoples and clans innumerable. And every nation walked after their own will, and behaved wickedly before thee and were ungodly."[1] And again: "For the first Adam, clothing himself with the evil heart, transgressed and was overcome; and likewise also all who were born of him. . . ."[2] "O thou Adam, what hast thou done? For though it was thou that sinned, the fall was not thine alone, but ours also who are thy descendants."[3]

It would be beside the purpose of this work to discuss further the theological conception of original sin; it is sufficient now to emphasize

[1] 4 Ezra iii. 4-8. I have ventured throughout to use the excellent translations of Mr. Box. "The Ezra Apocalypse," by G. H. Box, M.A., pp. 9, 10.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii. 21; Box, p. 15.

[3] *Ibid.*, vii. 118; Box, p. 161.

that it is the fact of sin and not its origin that is the basis of the Pauline doctrine of redemption, and that there is no part of St. Paul's thought and speculations which can be more definitely traced to current Jewish speculation.

And then there is the psychological account of sin. It is not necessary for our purpose here to study with any fulness St. Paul's psychology. It is not essential to his theology; it is among the more transient parts of his teaching. But something must be said about his psychological explanation of sin. St. Paul was a Jew and not a Greek, nor was he in any of his fundamental ideas influenced by Greek thought. As a Jew he looked on human nature as in its essence one. There was no dualism. Man was not compounded of two discordant elements, spirit and matter—the one good, the other evil. He had, of course, his different parts: his body, his soul, his mind, his spirit; but they were different elements in the one man. With all he might do good, in all he might sin, in all he could be redeemed. But his human nature, his flesh, was weak; and in this weak human nature, through the seed sown by Adam's sin, "Sin," looked on as a great personified force or power, had obtained a hold; it had permeated

his whole nature, and created in him a principle of evil, which in most men was at war with the higher principles that came to them through their spirit; but might ultimately overpower the whole man, so that the spirit itself would become evil. The dualism of St. Paul is not a Platonic dualism—a fundamental dualism of a spirit which has to be freed from its material environment, but is something transient and temporary: a man becomes the battle-ground of two principles, sin and righteousness, the one working through his flesh, the other through his spirit, until either one or other is triumphant, and he becomes the servant of sin or the servant of righteousness.

There is one more question to ask, and that is, What was St. Paul's attitude towards what, in modern parlance, we call the personality of the devil? His point of view is interesting and in a sense ambiguous. It is quite clear that he accepts all the normal Jewish teaching as to the personality of evil spirits. "We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers and spiritual wickedness in high places." But although this was his natural and inherited belief, it does not affect his philosophy of the subject. Throughout the whole of the exposition in Romans,

he speaks not of a personal source of evil, but a great principle of sin, and the whole work can be read and grasped by anyone quite independently of those inherited beliefs of the Apostle, which sometimes seem hardly more real to him than to us.

II

Sin reigned from Adam to Moses; with Moses came the law. The law reigned from Moses to Christ. What, then, was the law? And what were its functions?

It is one of the recognized difficulties of the interpretation of the language of St. Paul that he uses words in different senses, often in the same passage, often in senses closely allied to one another, and that one signification passes into another. It is, I think, clear that this is the case with the word "law." Law is to St. Paul a great principle or stage in human development. He clearly recognizes that Gentiles as well as Jews knew law. It was represented by the law of conscience; it was witnessed to by the moral judgements which men have in all ages passed on one another; it is embodied in codes and ordinances and bodies of law; it distinguishes for us the

difference between right and wrong. But this principle of law was represented most clearly by the Jewish law, called emphatically "the Law," and with that, of course, St. Paul is mainly concerned. Only it is well to remember that the same principle of law had prevailed in the Gentile world, fulfilling for other nations the same functions as the law of Moses for the Jews.

What, then, was the law? It had fulfilled three great functions. It had taught men their knowledge of right and wrong; it had convinced them of their weakness and powerlessness to fulfil the commandment; it had thus been, as it were, a schoolmaster to lead men to Christ, but it had always failed to bring justification, to enable men to present themselves as righteous in the sight of God. "I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not lust."[1] While the law was in itself holy, and just, and good, its effect had been not to produce righteousness, but rather to stir up to rebellion the principle of sin in mankind, and thus even to intensify human wickedness. "When the commandment came, sin revived, and I died; and the commandment, which was unto life, this I found to be

[1] Rom. vii. 7.

unto death; for sin, finding occasion through the commandment, beguiled me, and through it slew me."[1] The whole result of this process was to reveal what sin was, and to reveal also the weakness of our own human nature, and thus prepare the way for something higher. St. Paul's outlook on the world and his own spiritual experience alike convinced him of one thing as certain—that law could not justify. Law only shewed the need of the Gospel.

III

How, then, can a man be justified? On what conditions will he be held to be righteous in the sight of God? St. Paul's answer is: By faith. The Gospel "is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth . . . for therein is revealed a righteousness of God by faith unto faith: as it is written, The righteous shall live by faith."[2] "But now apart from law a righteousness of God hath been manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets: even a righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ unto all them that believe."[3] "To him that worketh

[1] Rom. vii. 9, 10. [2] Rom. i. 16, 17.
[3] Rom. iii. 21, 22.

not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is reckoned for righteousness."[1]

To understand St. Paul's meaning, let us examine first his own experience. He himself had been, as he says, seized by Christ. He had believed in Him, accepted Him as the Messiah, believed on Him as forgiving the sins of those who called upon Him, as taking to Himself all who with complete self-surrender yielded themselves to Him; and he had felt a complete change in his whole being. He knew that the whole relation between himself and God had been transformed; there was some power in him which had overcome all his sinful tendencies. He had become a new creature.

Here was the fundamental fact. And it was based, first of all, on St. Paul's conception of faith. Faith starts from the two ideas of intellectual assent and trust, and both elements went to the building up of the Biblical use of the word. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews emphasizes the intellectual element most clearly when he tells us that "faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the proving of things not seen."[2] Here, clearly,

[1] Rom. iv. 5. [2] Heb. xi. 1.

it is the intellectual assent to that for which there is not the evidence of the senses. Faith as trust was displayed by Abraham when he left his home and country and went forth into a strange land, or when he had such confidence in God that he would not withhold his son. The faith of the Christian started with the intellectual assent to the belief that Jesus was the Messiah. He shewed the reality of his faith by giving himself up to Him. He was baptized. He became His loyal servant. And this meant an experience which increased his faith, "from faith to faith." He learnt what Christ had done for him; he learnt the love of God which had been exhibited in the death of His Son, and there arose in him the response of enthusiastic and loyal service.

This is what faith meant, and it was counted to a man for righteousness. Now, the first thing to notice is that this process of justification was to St. Paul the initial fact of the Christian's life. "Having been justified by faith, let us have peace with God."[1] "Having been justified now by his blood, we shall be saved from the wrath."[2] Quite clearly there are two stages—"justification" and "salvation." The one comes at the beginning of the Christian

[1] Rom. v. 1. [2] Rom. v. 9.

life, the other is its final consummation. No doubt (as St. Paul always maintains) the one is a guarantee of the other, but that does not mean that it works automatically. "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling."[1] No doubt all "justified" Christians might be spoken of proleptically as "the saved," for they were in the path of salvation. But the two ideas were really separate. The result of faith is to put a man into such a right relation with God that henceforth he will live as God wills.

A phrase often used in relation to St. Paul's thought is that of "imputed" righteousness, and it is further suggested that the righteousness imputed to us is that of Christ. St. Paul has no such conception. Such an interpretation misrepresents St. Paul's point of view. What he believed was that by the death of Christ such a change had been created in the relation of God and man that henceforth it would not be the correct fulfilment of a legal code that would enable a man to live uprightly in the sight of God, but the loyal adhesion of faith. In other words, that faith would be reckoned as righteousness, and this had been brought about by the abolition of the Old

[1] Phil. ii. 12.

Covenant in the death of Christ, and the free forgiveness thus won for all who believed in Christ through His blood. "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not reckon sin."[1]

What had happened, then, was this—that a new covenant had been made between God and man, that the old hard covenant had been done away, and that different conditions for salvation had been created. But this was not all. The method by which the old covenant had been put an end to had been such as to reveal to man the love of God through Christ. This revelation had been of such a character as to rouse in us responsive feelings of faith and love, so that for all those who had accepted Christ a complete transformation of human nature became possible. This, as we shall see, St. Paul works out when he considers the life of the redeemed, for we have not nearly exhausted all the elements of his thought. Faith and Baptism meant a union with Christ, the gift of the Spirit, the life of the redeemed. And this new covenant, this establishment of a new relation between God and man, had made possible the incoming of the Gentiles.

[1] Rom. iv. 7, 8. (Ps. xxxii. 1, 2.)

"Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law . . . that the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles in Christ Jesus."[1] So long as the hope of salvation was based on the old covenant relations of obedience to the Jewish law—a law given only to the Jewish race—they were "separate from Christ, alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, strangers from the covenants of the promise, having no hope, and without God in the world."[2] But these conditions were done away. A new covenant based on the ideas of faith and forgiveness had been inaugurated by the blood of Christ, and the same conditions applied henceforth to the whole human race.

IV

Such, quite shortly, was the special feature of the Gospel of Jesus Christ as preached by St. Paul, and we have now to consider the relation of this teaching to that of the Primitive Church, to our Lord, and its influence on the subsequent development of Christian doctrine.

St. Paul has given us an account, from his own point of view, in Galatians of his relation to the older Apostles. From that it is clear that they were agreed on fundamental points.

[1] Gal. iii. 13, 14. [2] Eph. ii. 12.

They had given him the right hand of fellowship; they were agreed on the extension of the Gospel to the Gentiles; that Gentiles should not be compelled to keep the law; some of them—St. Peter amongst others—had themselves been willing among Gentile Christians to relax their Jewish habits. They had not, however, always the complete courage of their opinions; they were not always consistent; many of their followers were not prepared to give up old customs. There was a good deal in Gentile Christianity which shocked the upright Jew. And a Judaizing party arose. Above all, the earlier generation of Christians did not realize the point at issue; they did not understand the fundamental change in principle as St. Paul had realized it.

Let us look for a moment at the earliest disciples. They were Jews, brought up to obey the law, not, indeed, as a Pharisee would, but as ordinary Jews. They had learnt from the teaching of Jesus a different view of the law, and a new theory of life, but this did not suggest that they should give up the law. They accepted Jesus as the Messiah; they had received the gift of the Spirit; their life had been transformed; they had been carried on by the advancing tide of a movement, which they had

hardly grasped; and they had not realized the change which had taken place. They preached faith and repentance. They went on living as they had done, only they were better Jews.

St. Paul, on the other hand, had had a deeper experience than theirs. He had been a Pharisee. That is to say, he had consciously adopted a religious system. It is probable that the question, How can a man be justified? had already been discussed in the schools of the Rabbis. At any rate, a deliberate rule of life had been laid down. By it St. Paul attempted to gain peace and justification. He had failed. He was conscious of his failure. He had adopted a new creed. He realized the difference. He saw clearly where the whole point of the new message lay, and he defined. On the one side "works," the performance of a hard legal code; on the other side "faith," loyalty, a change of heart, a new life. He interpreted the message in a different way from others. He was able to do this because he had been a Pharisee, and because his religious experience had been so remarkable.

This gospel, then, which St. Paul preached was not a new one. It was only the logical and theological statement of what Christians had known from the beginning. Our Lord

had proclaimed the good news of the forgiveness of sins. He had bidden men come to Him, and had commended their faith. He had again and again turned them from obedience to the letter of the law to a realization of its spirit, from the literal obedience to the comprehension of a principle. He had spoken of a yoke which was easy, yet of a righteousness which must exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees. This was the Christian tradition of Christ's preaching. The Early Church had carried on the tradition. They preached faith in Jesus the Messiah, forgiveness of sins, baptism into Christ's name. They received at their profession of faith and incorporation by baptism into the society the gift of the Spirit, and they knew how in the name of Christ they had healed the sick and cast out devils. Clearly this implied all that St. Paul taught, but clearly also the earliest Christian teachers did not realize all that it implied. It was St. Paul who realized that here was a new principle of life and religion; it was he who carried it to its clear and logical conclusion, who saw its consequences in freedom from the law, and why it meant that the gift of the Messianic salvation should be for Gentiles as well as for Jews. And he expressed his teaching in the language and forms of the current

theology. He shewed, as a Rabbi might, how it was taught by the Old Testament, and expressed himself in the recognized categories. The difference between his teaching of justification and that of his contemporaries was that he transformed a religious life into a theology.

But although he interpreted the teaching of Jesus more adequately than the Church before had done, he had not grasped the whole of the teaching of Jesus in its fulness. Where controversy leads to a clear issue being raised in theology, it is sure to result in the loss of comprehensiveness. St. Paul was inevitably one-sided and controversial. Nothing that he says ever succeeds in bringing out all sides of the truth quite in the way that the one phrase of our Lord does: "I am not come to destroy but to fulfil." There was no one-sidedness about our Lord's teaching which might lead to Antinomianism, as actually happened in the case of the teaching of St. Paul.

The controversy with Judaism had raised a clear issue, and the issue led to the clear and formal definition of the great principle of justification by faith. But the next generation forgot the controversy, did not need the teaching, and obscured the issue. Clement of Rome clearly did not understand. For

him the common-sense point of view was adequate. "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and live a godly life." He reconciles St. Paul and St. James, as most of us do, by saying that we are justified by faith and works. That is generally an adequate and sufficient formula. Some of the Gnostics perverted St. Paul's teaching and made it Antinomian; but for the most part it was not understood because it was not required.

Twice, however, in the history of Christianity has Paulinism been of paramount importance. To St. Augustine the issue was somewhat different from what it had been to St. Paul. The fundamental point of his religious life was the inadequacy of human merit to attain salvation. He felt that he himself owed nothing to his own will, which was inherently corrupt, but that he had been snatched to salvation by the Divine grace; and on the language of St. Paul, as interpreted by St. Augustine, was built up the great mediaeval system of grace.

In the second great period when his particular teaching was paramount the conditions closely resembled those of his own day. The Reformation controversy was really the old controversy of faith and works. Practically—however much it might be concealed in theory

—the mediaeval system taught salvation by works. Equally clearly Luther asserted, as St. Paul had done, justification by faith—*i.e.*, that the primary condition of justification and salvation was not the fulfilment of a code, moral or ecclesiastical, but the turning of the heart to God. Luther's own experience had been like St. Paul's. That point he seized, that he preached, and on that he built up the Lutheran theology. But the Reformation never grasped St. Paul's teaching in its fulness. It made what was really a subordinate feature the centre of the Gospel; its language was exaggerated; it lost its balance, and hence it became formal and unreal. But its strength lay in the fact that it realized what the system to which it was opposed had lost—that no works, no sacraments, no ceremonies, no morality, avail anything to him whose heart is not transformed in Christ.

VII

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

The life in Christ—The life in the Spirit—Christian ethics—Their source.

THERE is always a danger that any system of "Justification by Faith," to use a modern name, will have an Antinomian tendency; and this was particularly likely to be the case in some of the Gentile communities which St. Paul had founded. While Judaism was distinguished for its strong ethical tradition, this was not the characteristic of either the Hellenic or Oriental religions. In many places a life which a Jew would denounce as immoral was definitely consecrated to the service of religion. The Churches founded in the commercial centres of Corinth and Ephesus out of converts of mixed races and varied cults, with all their old ethnic traditions of a moral life broken down by the disintegrating influence of cosmopolitanism, would find St. Paul's doctrine of faith very attractive. They could look upon

the Christian sacraments as capable of working by magic. "The greater the sin, the greater the grace." "Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound?" Such a point of view was entirely natural.

Let us remark in passing that the existence of such a perversion of Christian teaching is conclusive evidence that it was "justification by faith" that St. Paul taught, in the sense that a man was held righteous by reason of his faith. If St. Paul had taught that he was made righteous by faith, no one could have suggested that works were indifferent. St. Paul had been compelled by controversial exigencies to emphasize "faith" as something apart from "works," and to denounce any reliance on works. It was thus natural enough that among people already imbued with a sense of indifference to morality, his teaching should be capable of an Antinomian perversion.

To St. Paul the whole conception was impossible, untenable. The Jewish tradition of a God exalted in righteousness was deeply ingrained in his heart. The Old Testament, Pharisaism, eschatology, all taught it. Whatever the faults of the Pharisee and the limitations of his creed, he always taught a zeal for

righteousness. It is one of the failures of the modern eschatological school that they have associated their teaching with the idea of an "interim-ethik." Eschatology had arisen out of the strong, if narrow, ethical sense of the Jews and their conception of the rest of the world as "sinners." To St. Paul the thought that Christianity was anything else but a life of ideal goodness and purity was unthinkable. He believed that when the Messiah came He would judge all men, Christian or not Christian, in accordance with their lives. The Lord was at hand. All chambering and wantonness must be put away.

But what was the logical basis for such a belief? How escape the clear reasoning of anyone who argued that if works were necessary for salvation, then justification was by works and not by faith, and the whole system of the law came back. St. Paul's answer was that justification had come on certain conditions which were incompatible either with legal conditions of righteousness or with any immorality. How was a man justified? He was accepted by God for the faith which he had exhibited by being baptized in the name of Jesus the Christ, and this baptism meant that he had been united with Christ in a new

life, and had received the gift of the Spirit. His life, therefore, must be one in accordance with the conditions on which he had been accepted, and no other life was possible for him. This life is described by St. Paul under a great variety of metaphors, but substantially it had two characteristics—the life in Christ and the life in the Spirit.

I

There is no phrase more characteristic of St. Paul than that of "in Christ," or "in Christ Jesus." In occurs in all the groups of Epistles; the only two writings in which it is not found being 2 Thessalonians and Titus. Outside St. Paul it occurs in 1 Peter, and the idea is constant both in the Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle of St. John. It occurs also in the Apocalypse. It expresses the fundamental fact of St. Paul's life: "It is no longer I, but Christ, that liveth in me." The whole of his life, his joys and sorrows, his hopes and fears, are all in Christ. All he has comes through Christ, and all his aims are set on Christ. And what is true of him is true of all Christians, both in their individual and corporate capacity. The Churches of God are in Christ.

The significance of this union with Christ and all that it implies is worked out most fully in the Epistle to the Romans. "Do you realize," says St. Paul, "how all you who were baptized into Christ were baptized into His death? You descended into the waters of baptism, and there, as Christ died and went down into the grave, so you also died to sin. As He rose from the dead through the glory of the Father, so you, too, have risen, and lead a new life. You have shared in His death, you will share in His resurrection. Your old man is crucified, and all the sin in it destroyed. Sin, therefore, is banished from your life. Christ died to sin. You also died with Him, and now you live in a new life."[1] This union with Christ transforms the whole being. Christ is formed in us.[2] We have crucified the flesh with its affections and lusts.[3] Through the cross of Christ the world is crucified to me and I unto the world.[4] As we are crucified with Christ we also share His sufferings. St. Paul can feel that he makes up what is wanting in the sufferings of Christ.[5] What Christ suffered we suffer, and what we suffer, Christ suffers. As we have died with Christ, so we

[1] Rom. vi. 1-11. [2] Gal. iv. 19. [3] Gal. v. 24.
[4] Gal. vi. 14. [5] Col. i. 24.

are dead to all the beggarly elements of the world, to the old law of ordinances which He has destroyed.[1] As we have risen with Him, so we must rise in newness of life, seek those things that are above, where our life is hid with Christ in God.[2] We are a new creature.

The phrase "in Christ" is one which particularly belongs to St. Paul, but the thought is one which permeates all the discourses of our Lord in the Gospel of St. John. Is the idea an original thought of St. Paul, derived from and built up out of his religious experience, or was it derived from the teaching of our Lord? This is one of the questions which depends for its answer on the value which is ultimately assigned to the Fourth Gospel as an historical document. Does it in this represent a developed Paulinism, or was the common source of the teaching contained in both writings the words of our Lord interpreted by each in his own fashion?

At any rate, this teaching of union with Christ is one of the greatest and deepest of St. Paul's thoughts; it represents, perhaps, the culminating point of his religious experience; it unifies all his theology. Whatever difficulties are experienced by his theory of the

[1] Col. ii. 20. [2] Col. iii. 1, 3.

Atonement are clearly largely modified if we realize that we are mystically one with Christ, and that we thus participate in all that He does. If there is a danger of St. Paul's doctrine of justification becoming hard and rigid, it ceases if we realize that the faith through which we are justified unites us with Christ. St. Paul's Church, as we shall see, was not merely an organized society, but a part of Christ, His body. Sacraments to him were not formal or magical, but in Baptism we are incorporated with Christ, in the Lord's Supper we live in Him. We have reached a point in St. Paul's thought where his religious experience takes him beyond what can be expressed or defined in language. No logical expression is possible; there is no analogy in ordinary experience; we have to be content with metaphors; we cannot work out what we mean in syllogisms or find a place for it in systematic theology; but this does not prevent it being real. St. Paul was describing what he felt to be true, and what he experienced "has doubtless been acted upon in many a simple unspeculative life, in which there was never any attempt to formulate it exactly in words."[1]

[1] Sanday and Headlam, "Romans," p. 166.

II

Side by side with the expression "in Christ" there is the parallel conception of life "in the Spirit." This life "in the Spirit" was one of the most real facts of Christian experience. We have already fully analyzed in detail the conception of the Spirit; we have now to consider what life "in the Spirit" meant, and in particular what is its relation to life in Christ.

The same initial act of the Christian life which had meant our incorporation into Christ had implied the gift of the Spirit, or perhaps, more correctly, was brought about through the agency of the Spirit, for the two ideas seem to have co-existed: "In one Spirit were we all baptized into one body";[1] and even more definitely the work of the Spirit is connected with the whole process of salvation: "Ye were washed, ye were sanctified, ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God."[2] The result of this is that we are a temple of the Spirit. God dwells in us through the Spirit;[3] and this is true of both the individual and the whole Christian society. "In Christ Jesus each several building, fitly framed to-

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 13. [2] 1 Cor. vi. 11. [3] 1 Cor. iii. 16.

gether, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord: in whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God in the Spirit."[1]

The result of this indwelling of God's Spirit is a transformation of our nature. Naturally we are weak, our human nature has become infected with sin, and sin has become a tyrant in our bodies, so that we are no longer free, but slaves. The Spirit, given us from God, has strengthened our own spirit, so that henceforth it has the upper hand; we are freed from our old slavery and become instead servants of Christ — a new slavery which is freedom, because it means the right and harmonious development of our being. Sin being thus driven out of us by the Spirit, we become holy and pure, and all the works of the flesh are put away from us, all that is weak and impure in human nature. We are no longer carnal but spiritual. This transformed life is shewn in a loftier morality, in spiritual gifts, in a higher religious life, and in St. Paul particularly, as in others also, in an intensified power of preaching the Gospel.

All the highest moral gifts come from, or are transformed by, the Spirit. "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering,

[1] Eph. ii. 21, 22.

kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance."[1] But besides these normal gifts of character, there are the gifts which imply heightened human powers: wisdom, knowledge, gifts of healings, the power of working miracles, prophecy, discernings of spirits, tongues, and the interpretation of tongues.[2]

All these gifts are summed up in the power of the Spirit, through which, and through which alone, St. Paul preaches the gospel. His work was done in the power of the Spirit. So much is this the case that to despise St. Paul and his ministry, and to look down on those he has converted, is to despise God, for his work is the work of God through the Spirit, and his converts have been endowed with the Spirit.[3] His preaching was powerful, not because of any eloquence of his own, but through the Spirit of God which worked in him.[4] As the Spirit is the source of spiritual gifts and spiritual power, so in particular is it the source of all our religious life. Through the Spirit we have life and peace; the Spirit inspires our prayers; the Spirit fills us with holy joy. It is in the Spirit that we call Jesus Lord. In particular, it is through

[1] Gal. v. 22.
[2] 1 Cor. xii. 8.
[3] 1 Thess. iv. 8.
[4] 1 Thess. i. 5, 6; 1 Cor. ii. 4.

the Spirit that religious unity comes, and because of the Spirit we must be one. This is definitely deduced from the unity of the Spirit. In one Spirit we are united in one body.[1] We have therefore always to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.[2] In one Spirit all alike, Jew and Gentile, have access to the Father through Christ Jesus.[3]

So the new covenant can be described as a covenant of the Spirit, and it is strongly contrasted with the old covenant—the covenant of law.[4] This was a covenant of the letter, a code of written rules which had to be obeyed, which stirred up all the evil in us, and might almost be described as a covenant of death. The new covenant—the covenant of the Spirit—is written in our hearts. Because we have God's Spirit in our hearts, we live through that Spirit as we ought to live. It is no longer a righteousness concerning which we can glory; it is a righteousness which comes because God is in us. Hence come the great antitheses which run through the writings of St. Paul—Spirit and law, Spirit and flesh.[5]

But the gift of the Spirit means something

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 13. [2] Eph. iv. 3, 4. [3] Eph. ii. 18.
[4] 2 Cor. iii. 6; Gal. ii. 16. [5] Gal. v. 16.

more than this. It is through our life in the Spirit that our Christian hope comes to us. Through the Spirit comes our sonship with God. We have received the Spirit of adoption, and we can call on God as our Father; we have received the Spirit of the Son, therefore we are sons and heirs.[1] And as the Spirit is the source of our sonship, so the Spirit is the pledge of our future salvation.[2] Because of all that we have received, because of the complete transformation of our life, because we even now and here are so completely dominated by the Spirit, therefore we are convinced of the reality of the spiritual life, and the truth of the promises of God; therefore our hope of the continued existence of our spiritual life is certain, and we can feel confident—so much already has God done for us—that we will receive to the full His promises. "In whom, having also believed, ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is an earnest of our inheritance unto the redemption of God's own possession, unto the praise of his glory."[3]

These two conceptions—life in Christ, life in the Spirit—sum up the whole of our religious

[1] Rom. viii. 15; Gal. iv. 6, 7. [2] 2 Cor. i. 22.
[3] Eph. i. 13, 14; *cf.* iv. 30.

life, and they represent the same life viewed from different standpoints. It is through the Spirit that God works in us; it is through the Spirit that Christ dwells in us; it is through the Spirit that we are united with Christ that we may receive the fruits of our redemption. But the new life that we live comes to us from God through Christ. God sent forth His Son; Christ died for us, and won for us redemption. The Church is His body. Through Christ we have received the gift of the Spirit. It is hardly necessary or possible that our analysis should go further. We cannot interpret more than St. Paul has interpreted, or experience more than he has experienced.

Only we can see the contrast between the old life and the new. Consider the old life. The law stood forth with its hard, almost impossible, commands, with its rigid enactments, with its unattainable ideals. Incited by it we strive to fulfil its demands. We feel proud of what we accomplish; we glory in our uprightness; we despise the "sinner." But even so we fail. We cannot really attain. We struggle, but sin in us is powerful. Then comes the work of the Gospel. We turn to Christ in faith, and He receives us. We are baptized and united with Him. God's Spirit is

poured forth in our hearts. Henceforth we live the new life. We become holy, not because of any merit of our own, but because we are one with Christ, and God's Spirit dwells in us. Henceforth we live a new and higher life. But we cannot glory in our uprightness, for it is not we that live the new life, but Christ in us.

III

The Christian, then, is one who is united in a spiritual union with Christ, who is inspired by the Spirit, and his life therefore exhibits the fruit of the Spirit in a Christian morality. It has always been the characteristic of Christianity to dwell on the actual fruit of its teaching in a moral life. "By their fruits ye shall know them," our Lord had said; and St. Paul almost invariably concludes his Epistles with the exhortation to live a Christian life, deduced from his doctrinal discussions, and commended with all the earnestness of an intensely moral nature. It is, of course, unreal to suggest that his purpose was only ethical. He was a man of balanced mind; the intellectual, the moral, the religious sides of his nature influence one another. But always at a certain stage of his letters we expect the well-known formula, "I therefore, the prisoner of

the Lord, beseech you to walk worthily of the calling wherewith ye are called." "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service." And St. Paul employs a wealth of metaphor, and rises to a great height of rugged eloquence in describing, in illustrating, and commending this moral life.

The leading characteristic of St. Paul's morality is that it is a morality of principle, not of law. It is the working out in practical life of the great spiritual ideas which had taken the place for him of the old idea of law. More than once he sums up the Christian life by the three virtues of Faith, Hope, and Love. Faith was the motive principle of the religious life; Hope meant the transformation of the earthly life which results, the source of the Christian joy; Love regulated the whole of a man's dealing with his fellow-men, and, as it was the consummation of faith, with God also. "He that loveth his neighbour hath fulfilled the law. For this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not covet, and if there be any other commandment, it is summed up in this word, namely, Thou shalt love thy

neighbour as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: Love therefore is the fulfilling of law."[1]

The last sentence shews us how love in the moral sphere bears the same relation to law that faith does in the religious sphere. We need not illustrate. It is enough to refer to the great hymn of Love in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and the constant echoes of the thought throughout the Epistles.

A second main principle with St. Paul was Purity. It had always been the characteristic of Judaism that it had made purity of life an integral portion of religion. A transformed Judaism now came into direct contact with the heathen world, which was fundamentally impure, and the new converts, attracted by the religious earnestness of St. Paul's preaching, accepting Christianity as "justification" by faith, gaining an answer to their religious needs in the Sacraments, found it somewhat difficult to give up their old habits, and in some cases, no doubt, were indifferent about doing so. St. Paul has to emphasize all through his Epistles the need of purity. "For this is the will of God, even your sanctification, that ye abstain

[1] Rom. xiii. 8-10.

from fornication; that each one of you know how to possess himself of his own vessel in sanctification and honour, not in the passion of lust, even as the Gentiles which know not God."[1] "Flee fornication. Every sin that a man doeth is without the body; but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body."[2] "But fornication, and all uncleanness, or covetousness, let it not be named among you as becometh saints. . . . For this ye know of a surety, that no fornicator, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, which is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and God."[3] This demand is in all cases based on the highest religious motives. The Christian is cleansed and sanctified by the Holy Ghost, his body is a temple of God, through the Spirit; he is united with Christ, his body is a member of Christ. "Shall I take the members of Christ and make them members of a harlot?"[4] We are baptized in Christ, we have eaten spiritual food and drink in the Lord's Supper; and both alike demand abstinence from idolatry or lust.

A third point to notice is the sanctification

[1] 1 Thess. iv. 3.
[2] 1 Cor. vi. 18.
[3] Eph. v. 3-5.
[4] 1 Cor. vi. 15.

of all the relations of life through the new conditions. Most characteristic is this as regards slavery. St. Paul accepts the fact of slavery as part of the normal conditions of life; but the relations of master and slave are to be regulated always by the principles he has taught. The slaves are slaves of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart. The masters are to remember that there is a Master in heaven with whom is no respect of persons. So Onesimus is sent back to Philemon with a letter exhorting him to receive him "no longer as a slave, but more than a slave, a brother beloved."[1] St. Paul will have nothing to do with any stirrings of Messianic war, any revolt against earthly rulers; "the powers that be are ordained of God."[2] A Christian must be a good citizen, an obedient subject, industrious in all the relations of life. The nearness of the end is no reason for neglecting the duties of this life.

In regard to marriage his ideal is a high one. For himself, indeed, he prefers the celibate life. It is his gift. He believes that for all it is best. The time is short. This present life is transitory. The fashion of this life passeth away, so that henceforth, they that have wives

[1] Philem. 16. [2] Rom. xiii. 1.

will be as though they had none. The unmarried is careful for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord: the married is careful for the things of the world.[1] But the married state is not sinful. The married are one flesh. There is a direct command of the Lord that husband and wife are not to leave one another —only the wife or husband of an unbeliever may separate if it is necessary. All the relations of family—father and children, husband and wife, master and servant—are sacred. God is our Father, and the heavenly relationship is a pattern of the earthly. Christ loved the Church and gave Himself for it; husbands should love their wives as Christ loves the Church; the wife should be as the Church, holy and without blemish.

IV

It is in relation to the study of St. Paul's ethics that we see more clearly than in any other connexion the relation of his teaching to that of Christ. And this is natural. The ethics of Christianity came direct from Christ; the doctrinal teaching was partly drawn from Him, partly the interpretation of what He was.

It was to the teaching of Christ that St.

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 8 *et seq.*; 28-33.

Paul owed his conception of love as the fundamental principle of morality. It is, of course, true that the thought may be found in the Old Testament, and that Christ with His wonderful insight had selected just that text which gave the note of all His teaching. It is true again that parallel passages may be found elsewhere. There is no ethical maxim for which it is not possible to get parallels in many places. But an isolated maxim is not a principle. What was before a momentary intuition is now exalted into the great principle of life. A study of the use of the word used for love—*ἀγάπη*—will illustrate this. "It is never used in the Classical writers, only occasionally in the Septuagint; in early Christian writers its use becomes habitual and general. Nothing could show more clearly that a new principle has been created than this creation of a new word."[1]

And St. Paul in his use of it correctly interprets the mind of Christ. Christ came, he tells us, to fulfil the law. St. Paul tells us that love is the fulfilling of the law. He has grasped the whole point of the Sermon on the Mount.

And as with the general principle, so with the details. There are many parallels. Occa-

[1] Sanday and Headlam, "Romans," p. 375.

sionally St. Paul definitely refers to the authority of the Lord—in Acts once in a passage where there is no parallel in our Gospels: "Remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he himself said, It is more blessed to give than to receive."[1] Elsewhere there is a parallel in the Gospels. "Even so did the Lord ordain that they which proclaim the gospel should live of the gospel."[2] And similarly in reference to marriage.

Often there are close parallels in statement; for example, in relation to obedience to rulers, wisdom in this world. Still more often there is similarity of thought. The result of a careful investigation is thus summed up by Mr. Scott in "Cambridge Biblical Essays."

"A closer examination of the relations between the teaching of Jesus and that of Paul confirms the primary impression that Paul reproduces in a very remarkable way the mind of Christ. When all possible allowance has been made for the difference of tradition and reminiscence, and, at the other extreme, for the effect of his having the completed history of Jesus to interpret, there remains a whole series of phenomena of which no account has been given. Paul shews just that harmony with

[1] Acts xx. 35. [2] 1 Cor. ix. 14.

Jesus, with His aim and method, which in another we should put down to intimacy. In fact, were it not that we have such excellent reason for believing that he was not one of the disciples of Jesus, we should inevitably have taken him to be one of these, and the one among them who had entered most deeply into his Master's spirit."[1]

It seems strange that difficulties should have arisen as to the source of St. Paul's ethical teaching. His teaching was what it was because he was a Christian, because he had learnt it from the records of our Lord's discourses which were preserved by the Church, because he had learnt it from the Christian community, because perhaps more than others he had realized to the full the Spirit of his Master. Parallels, of course, to Christian morality may be found elsewhere, and it is natural that that should be possible, for the Christian moral teaching is but the explanation and interpretation of the moral sense of the race. But however close the parallel, there is always a fundamental difference. All Christian teaching has been thought to be found in the traditions of the Rabbis, and no doubt many sayings of our

[1] "Cambridge Biblical Essays," p. 375; *cf.* Gardner, "The Religious Experience of St. Paul," chap. vii., p. 139 *et seq.*

Lord may be paralleled there. But Rabbinism is as different from Christianity as a lump of coal from a diamond. There are striking resemblances to Stoicism, but the spirit of Stoicism is entirely different. The morality of the Stoic philosopher is hard, and hence inhuman; the morality of the Rabbi is lost in his devotion to detail. St. Paul, like the other Apostles, like St. Peter and St. James and St. John, seizes the fundamental principle—the Christian ἀγάπη. He grasps it even more fully than they do, not, perhaps, so much in its practical manifestations as in its intellectual principles. He works out the principles of the Christian morality even more profoundly than they do, and he connects it intimately with his whole theology. The love of the Christian is the love which comes to him from God, which God had shewn to man in Christ. "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? . . . I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."[1]

[1] Rom. viii. 35-39.

VIII

THE CHURCH

Its concrete meaning—Its religious significance—Its philosophical significance—Baptism—The Lord's Supper—Origin of the idea of the Church—Relation to our Lord's teaching, and growth—Origin of the Sacraments.

THE expression "the Church" had for St. Paul a clear and definite concrete meaning. It denoted the whole body of Christian people. It was not to him a new term, nor one which he had first introduced. He uses it of the society which he had persecuted. "I persecuted the church of God."[1] This society had represented something new in the world. Formerly to the Jewish mind mankind had been divided into Jews and Gentiles; now there was a third section, consisting of both Jews and Gentiles, called "the Church of God." "Give no occasion of stumbling, either to Jews, or to Greeks, or to the church of God."[2] This new society consisted of local

[1] Gal. i. 13; 1 Cor. xv. 9. [2] 1 Cor. x. 32.

communities scattered throughout the world. Each of these bore the name of "Church," so there was "the Church of the Thessalonians," "the Church of God which is at Corinth," "the Church that is at Cenchreae," "the Churches of Asia, of Galatia, of Macedonia"; "the Churches of Judaea which are in Christ"; and generally "the Churches of Christ" is a substitute for the collective term "the Church." The word was also used in a sense more nearly resembling the ordinary Greek usage for the meeting of the local community for worship, for discipline, or for administration.[1]

This society was to a certain extent an organized body. To how great an extent may be doubtful, and a matter of controversy. Each local community had officers to govern it, appointed in the first instance by the founder of the Church, but subsequently probably elected by the community. These bore the name of Presbyters, but they were also called Bishops, or Episcopi, and Pastors. Each community was organized for worship and for the mutual help and assistance of its members, and possessed the power of discipline. There were deacons and perhaps also

[1] Rom. xvi. 5; 1 Cor. xi. 18; xiv. 4, 5, 12, 19, 23, 28 33-35; Col. iv. 15.

deaconesses, who assisted in the services of the Church and the administration of alms.

These Churches were bound together by the consciousness of their common origin, and by the fact that they were all recognized as the Churches of the one Messiah. Over all the Churches which he has founded St. Paul claims an authority, which was strong and effective, although naturally undefined in its character. He demands that all shall adhere to the common customs and traditions. "We have no such custom, neither the churches of God."[1] His whole action in connexion with the Jewish controversy implies that he recognizes that he cannot act separately from, or out of harmony with, the other Apostles, and that the Apostolic body of which he claims to be a member has an authority, however little it may be defined, over the Church as a whole. Although this authority is undefined, it is very real, for its ultimate sanction is the fact that membership of the Church of the Messiah is the necessary condition of salvation when the Christ comes. An individual who is separated from the Church is under the dominion of Satan, and a society which was not recognized as part

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 16.

of the Church would be cut off from the Christian hope. St. Paul laid before them who were of repute "the gospel which he preached among the Gentiles," "lest by any means he should be running, or had run, in vain."[1]

But if this society was united under the authority of the Apostles, still more was it joined together in more spiritual bonds. Hospitality was the rule of the Church, and members travelling were entertained. They carried with them letters of commendation. There were others besides the Apostles who travelled from church to church—prophets and evangelists; there were messengers from the Apostles; there were delegates sent by the Churches—the Apostles of the Churches, they were called. Above all, as a sign of the brotherly love which should knit together all the Churches of Christ, St. Paul had organized throughout all the Gentile Churches which he had founded a great collection for the poor Christians in Jerusalem. "But now, I say, I go unto Jerusalem, ministering unto the saints. For it hath been the good pleasure of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor among the saints that are at Jerusalem.

[1] Gal. ii. 2.

Yea, it hath been their good pleasure; and their debtors they are. For if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, they owe it to them also to minister unto them in carnal things."[1]

Such, then, was, on its concrete side, this new society. But to St. Paul it was far more than this. It had for him a profound religious and philosophical significance, and it is these aspects that it is most important for us to consider.

I

Its religious significance was shewn in the character of its members. They had been chosen before the foundation of the world to be holy and without blame before God in love; they had been foreordained to be sons of God through Jesus Christ; for they were redeemed by the blood of Christ; their sins had been forgiven; they were recipients above measure of the Divine grace; to them had been revealed the Divine purpose of God in the world. They were the holy, the elect, the called.

A society thus constituted must naturally have characteristics unlike those of any other society, and to St. Paul its distinctive features

[1] Rom. xv. 25-27.

were fundamental. It was to him the body of Christ; it was the fulness, for it fulfilled all God's purpose in the world, and it helped to complete the very being and nature of Christ; through it has been made known the manifold wisdom of God; in it is celebrated the Divine glory.

The Christian who was a member of this society was, St. Paul has told us, "in Christ"—that is, he was spiritually united with Christ, and this union was brought about when he was made a member of that Church which was the body of Christ. Herein lies the deep religious significance of the conception of the Church—a significance which St. Paul elaborates in various metaphors.

The Church is the Body of Christ. This metaphor St. Paul uses in more than one way, and we may be allowed to quote an impressive passage from Dr. Armitage Robinson's commentary on the Ephesians, which brings out the significance of the Apostle's language.

"When St. Paul combats the spirit of jealousy and division in the Corinthian Church, he works out in detail the metaphors of the Body and its several parts. But he does not there speak of Christ as the Head. . . . Indeed, in that great passage Christ has, if possible, a

more impressive position still: He is no part, but rather the whole of which the various members are parts: 'for as the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of the body, being many, are one body: so also is the Christ.'[1] This is in exact correspondence with the image employed by our Lord Himself: 'I am the vine, ye are the branches.'[2] That is to say, not 'I am the trunk of the vine, and ye the branches growing out of the trunk'; but rather, 'I am the living whole, ye are the parts whose life is a life dependent on the whole.'"[3]

But in the Epistle to the Ephesians the metaphor is differently used. There "he has begun with the exalted Christ; and he has been led on to declare that the relation of the exalted Christ to His Church is that of the head to the body."[4] When he speaks of marriage, again, the metaphor is somewhat altered. Christ is "head of the Church," "saviour of the body;"[5] but the relationship is also like that of marriage. Christ loves and cherishes the Church, and the union is like that of man and wife—"they twain are one flesh."[6]

Even more remarkable is the conception that the Church completes Christ. The Church

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 12. [2] John xv. 5.
[3] Robinson, "Ephesians," pp. 41-42.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 42. [5] Eph. v. 23. [6] Eph. v. 29-31.

as the body of Christ represents Him in the world, and here it works as He once worked. But the exalted Christ will not be complete until He is united with the Church of the redeemed. For Christ is to be "all in all," and He only gains that fulness through the Church. And so in suffering also there is a complete union between Christ and His Church. All that He suffered the Church shared in; they were not the sufferings of one apart from Him. And so what we suffer on earth Christ shares; hence St. Paul is able to say: "Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake, and fill up on my part that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church."[1]

And the Church also is in a special sense the dwelling-place and sphere of working of the Spirit. "In one Spirit were we all baptized into one body."[2] "Ye are builded together for a habitation of God in the Spirit."[3] "There is one body, and one Spirit." Hence the gifts of the Spirit are given, not for the benefit of the individual members of the Church, but for the benefit of the Church as a whole, and all those who receive gifts of the Spirit receive them for the benefit of the Church, and not for

[1] Col. i. 24. [2] 1 Cor. xii. 13. [3] Eph. ii. 22.

their own benefit. God hath appointed in the Church apostles, prophets, and teachers, and all the many gifts of the Spirit,[1] and those gifts are best which most clearly edify the Church. Again, in Ephesians he describes the various officers that have been appointed—apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, and their work is stated to be "for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ,"[2] and in and through the body which is of Christ there come all the different gifts for the building up of each individual, and the uniting them together in the bonds of love.

But the Church also has another significance. It is through the Church that the Divine purpose is fulfilled. The Epistle to the Ephesians describes the "universal"—that is to say, the "Catholic"—Church. Those who had been Gentiles—the uncircumcised, separated from the old Israel by the middle wall of partition, strangers from the promises, having no hope, and without God in the world—those had been united in the body by the blood of Christ. Christ had made peace between the two great sections of mankind. He had broken down the barrier which had separated

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 28. [2] Eph. iv. 11-13.

them from one another; that was really the law. They had become one body in Him. Thus was created the great world-wide society the Church, which was the household of God —the habitation of God in the Spirit. It had been built upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone.

All this was the result of the eternal purpose of God. It was the revelation of a mystery, unknown to former generations, now revealed in the Spirit to Christ's holy apostles and prophets. This dispensation had been throughout the ages hidden in God; it was the Divine purpose of the ages, the manifold creation of God. It is now made known in the Church. And it is this revelation of the wonderful love of Christ that makes the Church the sphere in which throughout all the ages the glory of God will be told.

II

Closely connected with the idea of the Church, both on its concrete and its religious side, as an external unity and as the sphere in which the Christian was united with Christ, were the two great Christian rites about which we learn from St. Paul—Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

We speak of these as "sacraments," but there is no word in St. Paul corresponding to that. Mystery is always used in a different sense. Nor is there any one word which describes them. But not only does St. Paul teach us about each separately, but there is in the First Epistle to the Corinthians what we may describe as teaching on the right use of sacraments. The situation in Corinth has been made clear for us by Mr. Kirsopp Lake in his book on the early Epistles of St. Paul. There had clearly been considerable abuse of the Sacraments. They were congenial to an Hellenic atmosphere. That much we may say quite certainly. There was a tendency to interpret them in a magical way. To St. Paul, as we shall see, they were, like all his religious conceptions, strongly ethical. The situation he has to deal with is one in which some of the Corinthians thought that, provided they were baptized and shared in the Lord's Supper, it did not matter how they lived. They would quite certainly be saved. With this St. Paul deals in the tenth chapter of 1 Corinthians. The Jews of old time had their sacraments. They were baptized in the sea and in the cloud. They ate a spiritual meat and drank a spiritual drink. Yet, because of their sins, their

idolatry, their lust, their discontent, their spiritual presumption, they had been grievously punished. All this was written for an example. We, like them, have been baptized: they into Moses, we into Christ. We, like them, partake of spiritual food. If, like them, we yield to temptations, we shall, like them, be punished. Some of the Corinthians clearly had sinned, and had already received punishment for profaning the Lord's Supper: "For this cause many among you are weak and sickly, and not a few sleep."[1]

Now, all this shews us clearly the reality of the sacramental principle in the Early Church. No perversion such as this would have been possible had the Sacraments been looked upon as mere symbols; and if that had been St. Paul's teaching he would have said so, in contradiction to the false teaching that had arisen. Instead he bases his admonition in all cases on the real spiritual significance of the sacrament. It is because in the Communion we are joined with the Lord that we must avoid idolatry. It is because in baptism we are incorporated with Christ that we must no longer live to sin.

About baptism it is never necessary for St. Paul to give any explicit teaching. He

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 30.

can always assume that those he is addressing have been baptized, and that they recognize fully the significance of baptism. It clearly meant the actual incorporation with the Church, which was the body of Christ. "For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free; and were all made to drink of one Spirit."[1] It therefore signified also spiritual incorporation into Christ: "Or are ye ignorant that all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life."[2] Throughout St. Paul assumes that these facts are understood, and argues on the basis of the universal recognition of what baptism implied. He wishes to emphasize the folly of disputing about spiritual gifts. He does so by shewing that all our gifts have come from the gift of the one Spirit in baptism, by which we were made members of the body of Christ, and all disputes about precedence or privilege are inconsistent with that membership. So in the sixth chapter of Romans St. Paul argues that by baptism we

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 13. [2] Rom. vi. 3-4.

have been incorporated with Christ, and that all that this implies is entirely inconsistent with a life of sin. Baptism is clearly accepted by all, and there is general agreement as to what it implies.

Equally significant is St. Paul's doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

"The cup of blessing that we bless, is it not a communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ? Seeing that we, who are many, are one bread, one body: for we all partake of the one bread. Behold Israel after the flesh: have not they which eat the sacrifices communion with the altar? What say I then? that a thing sacrificed to idols is anything, or that an idol is anything? But I say that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils and not to God: and I would not that ye should have communion with devils."[1]

What St. Paul means is that just as in all sacrifices or sacrificial feasts, whether Jewish or Gentile, the worshipper believed that he was in communion with his God, so in this Christian sacrifice the worshipper was united with Christ. To St. Paul there was nothing symbolical about it. It was very real.

[1] 1 Cor. x. 16-20.

One more remark in passing. It is very probable that the metaphor of the body, as applied to the Church, rose out of the Eucharist. Our Lord had said, "This is my body." St. Paul felt that all those who were partakers of that body were incorporated with Christ: so he says we who are many are one bread, one body. And afterwards he regularly applies the term "body" to the Christian unity of those who were incorporated in Christ. Of the reality of sacramental communion there was to him no doubt.

III

The above exposition will make it clear that in the opinion of the present writer the conceptions of Church and Sacraments were shared by St. Paul with the rest of the Christian Church, and were part of what he had received from it.

The word "Church" means fundamentally a religious society, and both the word and the idea had their origin in Judaism. The Jew had always associated religion with a society. Originally a nation claiming to have a common ancestry, Israel was more and more coming to be a purely religious body, and the Jews of the Dispersion represented very much what we conceive by a Church, only their narrow views

prevented them from expanding. But the *ecclesia*, or congregation of the saints, was almost to them a spiritual society. Israel represented the nation in its religious aspect. All were ready for a new conception, as the world in which the old State religions had really become an impossibility was also ready for such a conception.

This society our Lord had founded. He had done so when He collected followers around Him, when He selected and gave a commission to Apostles, when He gave His followers a Divine law, when He adopted or instituted the Sacraments. And according to our records He used the name ; He spoke of the foundation of the *ecclesia* of the Messiah, and gave that *ecclesia* authority to bind and to loose. It may be noted that all the passages referring to the Church in St. Matthew's Gospel are undoubtedly Jewish in their language and thought.

The Acts of the Apostles gives us an account of the development of this society out of the small body of disciples who met together after the Resurrection. It grew up on the acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah in the faith of the Resurrection, on the authority of the Apostles, on the ideas of community, of disci-

pleship, of worship, and of the sacraments derived from our Lord. The Acts of the Apostles represent to us (probably in the main historically) the gradual steps in the development of the society and the realization of its ideals. It was just at the stage when it was beginning to realize its universality, and was breaking through the limits of Judaism, that St. Paul was converted, and, like all new converts, he grasped Christianity without any of the prepossessions and limitations of the older Apostles. He saw in more than one direction more clearly than they its significance, and both in fact and idea developed the significance of the Christian Church. No doubt his experience helped to deepen his conceptions. It is an interesting subject of speculation how far the fact that he was a Roman citizen influenced his thoughts; it is still more interesting to recognize that his teaching on the heavenly citizenship, the universal mission of the Church, and the Christian warfare, were all developed when he was a prisoner in Rome, when he had realized the might and extension of the Roman Empire, when he was chained to a Roman soldier armed with his weapons and accoutrements, an ever-present reminder of the earthly kingdom and the earthly warfare.

It would be impossible to discuss with fulness the question of the origin of the Christian Sacraments, about which such divergent ideas prevail at the present day. The exposition already given will make it clear that a right interpretation of 1 Corinthians exhibits conceptions of Hebraic origin in contrast with an Hellenic perversion. St. Paul always refers to baptism as something recognized by all types of Christians. He never has any need to argue about its significance, he can assume that it is recognized. When he refers to the Lord's Supper he definitely ascribes his knowledge to a tradition derived from our Lord, and it is impossible to believe that the expression "received" has a different meaning in the eleventh from what it has in the fifteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians. Both the Lord's Supper and the Resurrection were part of the Christian tradition St. Paul had received. The account of it is an independent, a fuller, possibly a more correct narrative than that at the basis of the Synoptic account. And all the language used is Jewish and not Hellenic in character.

Both the Sacraments were part of the normal Christian tradition, and that was derived from the Lord. The origin of baptism was the

action of John the Baptist. Jesus Himself was baptized; how is it reasonable to think that what He thought right Himself, "that He might fulfil all righteousness," He would not think necessary for others? Its theological significance arose out of its Messianic character. To be saved at the last day the Christian must be enrolled as a follower of Christ. That enrolment took place in baptism, when he received the "seal of God" on his forehead, to be his defence in the final catastrophe. This meant to St. Paul much more than an external defence; it meant an incorporation with Christ, and baptism thus came to mean for him, as for the Church, union with Christ. The significance of the Lord's Supper may be derived from the action of our Lord before His death, and from the transmutation to the new conditions of the Messianic community of the religious conceptions contained in the Passover as the great covenant sacrifice. Our earliest narratives exhibit baptism and the breaking of bread as original rites of the Church; the Gospels derive their origin, the one from the action of John the Baptist, the other from our Lord. Their universal acceptance can only be explained on the basis of an early origin, and corroborate the actual testimony of our sources.

IX

THE DIVINE PURPOSE

Jewish "Philosophy of History"—St. Paul's interpretation of God's purpose in the world—Free-will and Divine purpose—St. Paul's solution—Its relation to Jewish teaching.

It was one of the characteristics of later Judaism that it learnt to look on God's purpose in the world as a whole, and had created what in more modern language might be called a "Philosophy of History." It was the outcome of the belief in one God as ruler of the whole earth. The Jews had learnt to believe that, through all the vicissitudes and changes of life, through all the strange upheavals of kingdoms, which had been so conspicuous a feature of the advance of the Roman Empire, God's purpose had been working. The Books of Daniel and Enoch had taught this lesson in the past, the Books of Baruch and Esdras were to do so after the fall of Jerusalem, and all these writers alike dwelt in hope of the establishment of the Kingdom of

God. Even though Jerusalem were destroyed and given up to the heathen, Baruch could still ask, in words which might almost have been written by St. Paul: "Who, O Lord, ruler of the world, will follow out thy judgement, or who can investigate the depths of thy path, or who can think out the profoundness of thy ways? Who can think out thy incomprehensible council? or what son of man shall discover the beginning or ending of thy wisdom?"[1] And he could still believe that this was only a prelude to Zion being rebuilt and her glory renewed. So strong was his faith that he still believed that God must have a glorious future for the people that He had chosen. Just as every loyal Jew was overwhelmed by the problem created by the destruction of his country, and found it difficult to preserve his faith, so the Jew who had become a Christian, and felt that in the Christian Church God's purposes were fulfilled, was naturally perplexed by the failure of his fellow-countrymen to accept the message of the Gospel.

St. Paul had, as his education and training made natural, a conception of God's purpose in the world, a Philosophy of History, which

[1] Apoc. Baruch, xiv. 8.

we find throughout the Epistles, and he discusses in some most difficult chapters this Divine purpose in relation to the fate of his fellow-Jews.

I

To St. Paul the Gospel was the revelation of a Divine mystery. The word " mystery " was one which came to him direct from the later Jewish literature, and was used in it to express something that was secret, and in particular, a " Divine secret." St. Paul uses it, in a somewhat special sense, to mean the secret of God's purpose for the world, a secret mystery, a Divine purpose determined beforehand by God before the worlds, treasured in silence through eternal ages, unknown to the Princes of this world, but now revealed through the Holy Spirit to the Church. This Divine mystery included the whole process of human redemption, and in particular the inclusion of Gentiles as well as Jews in one common hope and one common society in Christ.

There is probably no subject on which St. Paul could have said more definitely that " now we see in a glass darkly "; but he believed that this conception of God's purpose could explain the many difficulties that he had in reconciling his faith in God with the actual

facts of human life—a difficulty which was not so great for him as it was for the writers of the Apocalypse of Baruch or the Book of Esdras. It would help to explain to him the purpose of the law, which would represent a preparatory stage, preparing the way for Christ. In one place he tells us that the Lord had sent forth His Son in the fulness of time. That implied for him that the time which God had appointed had come. We can interpret it, from our wider knowledge of human history, in a way which might illustrate and support his view, but such speculations were probably alien to his mind. The fulness was the time fulfilled in God's good pleasure. Once St. Paul connects this purpose of God with the whole universe, in a manner drawn from apocalyptic thought: "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth together until now"; it waiteth with earnest expectation for the full revelation of the sons of God, when this period of slavery and conflict will make way for the new life of freedom and Divine sonship, when, in the words of the Apocalypse, there will be a new heaven and a new earth.

But this conception of an eternal purpose of God working in the world helps St. Paul to understand what to him, as a believing Jew, was the hardest problem of all—the fact that

the greater number of his fellow-countrymen had not accepted the Gospel, and were now cut off from any share in these promises. It is this problem that St. Paul attacks in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of Romans. So great is his love for his fellow-countrymen that he would give up his own hopes of salvation for their sakes. He enumerates their privileges. They were the adopted sons of God; among them dwelt the Divine glory. They were in covenant relations with God; theirs was the law, and the worship of the Temple, and the promises. Through them, last of all, the Messiah had come. And yet they were rejected.

First of all, there had been no failure of the Divine promises. There had always been a Divine purpose working through election, but in no case was there a universal election of a people; the promise was for those chosen by God according to His eternal purpose. Nor could there be any complaint against God on the ground of natural rights. We are all as clay in the hands of the potter. If He chooses to select some only for mercy and salvation, we have no cause for complaint. We have no rights before God. Then St. Paul shews that, as a matter of fact, it was through their own

fault that Israel fell; they had received full offers of Messianic salvation, and they had rejected it. But this was not all. The rejection was not complete, and it was not final. A remnant had been saved. And in all this there had been a Divine purpose. "By their fall salvation is come unto the Gentiles." St. Paul remembers his own career. It had been one of the most bitter disappointments of his life when in the synagogue of Iconium his fellow-countrymen had rejected him, when he had uttered those memorable words, "from henceforth we go to the Gentiles"; but yet that, in God's good purpose, had been the beginning of the great work of his life. It had created all those great bodies of Gentile Christians which he had built up. Clearly, this proved that God's purpose was far more wonderful than anything which we could realize, and we must believe that He has a still more wonderful purpose to work out in the future. The Gentiles have received salvation to provoke the chosen people to jealousy. Their fall has been the riches of the world; their loss has been the riches of the Gentiles. What shall be their entry into the Messianic kingdom but life from the dead, the fulfilling of God's purpose in the world?

And so St. Paul feels that he has obtained some insight into the great mystery of God's purpose. The fulness of the Gentiles shall come in. All Israel shall be saved. Through sin and disobedience is worked out salvation. The Gentiles have been saved by the Divine mercy; Israel shall also be saved by the Divine mercy. "God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all."[1] And St. Paul expresses his faith in the Divine mercy of God in words like those of the Apocalypse of Baruch: "Oh the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgements, and his ways past finding out!"[2]

It is the position that St. Paul has thus gained by his experience and his faith in God's purpose that is implied in the great doxology at the end of the Epistle to the Romans, a doxology which could not have been written by anyone in the Apostolic Church except St. Paul, and by him at no other stage in his life. It is the position which has been gained in the Epistle to the Romans that forms the basis of the great doctrine of a Universal Church as it is developed in the Epistle to the Ephesians. What we are concerned with realizing

[1] Rom. xi. 32. [2] *Ibid.* 33.

is that St. Paul has learnt to see everywhere traces of a Divine government of the world; that there has been an eternal purpose of God working through a principle of selection, that God chose the Jewish race for the work that they had to do in the world, that through them He taught the world what we should, in our modern phraseology, call an ethical monotheism, that through them He prepared the way for the coming of the Messiah and the higher revelation through Christ. It is this principle which will enable us equally with St. Paul to see God's selection working in history, to believe that He has selected other nations for other work in the world; and it will also suggest to us the same principle of faith in God's government of the world which St. Paul teaches. There was much that St. Paul did not understand, but he had learnt that God's ways were wiser than our ways, and he can acquiesce in what has happened, for he can believe that it is part of a deeper purpose than he can comprehend.

II

But we have not exhausted the problems raised by St. Paul's argument. It is quite

true that he is speaking throughout of election to a privileged position, and that he is discussing God's purpose in dealing with nations and bodies of men; but we cannot separate the question raised from that of the purpose of God with regard to individuals, and in particular the relation of the free will of the individual to the Divine providence.

The Christian is one whom God has chosen from the beginning for sanctification and salvation,[1] one whom He foreknew and foreordained to be conformed to the image of His Son.[2] And this is only the beginning of the process. "Whom he foreordained, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified."[3] And so Christians are regularly spoken of as the "called" and as the "elect," and the individual Christian is the "elect one." And this St. Paul believes to be particularly true of himself. God had separated him from his mother's womb, and called him by His grace,[4] and so, in the words of the Acts, he was a chosen vessel. And yet St. Paul speaks always as if each individual man was responsible for his own destiny.

[1] 2 Thess. ii. 13.
[2] Rom. viii. 29.
[3] Rom. viii. 30.
[4] Gal. i. 15.

This is most remarkable in those chapters of the Romans that we have been just considering. In the ninth chapter it is a little difficult to see where room is left for any free choice of man. "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy."[1] "He hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth"[2] "Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why didst thou make me thus? Or hath not the potter a right over the clay, from the same lump to make one part a vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?"[3] But when we pass to the next chapter the whole argument is based on the supposition that the Jew had a free choice. "They did not subject themselves to the righteousness of God."[4] They had had a complete offer of the Gospel; they had had every opportunity of hearing it; it had been preached everywhere. But they did not hearken to the glad tidings. They had been a disobedient and gainsaying people.[5] It is natural under these circumstances that in more recent days the Calvinist should have built up his teaching on the ninth chapter of Romans, and the Arminian on the tenth, and

[1] Rom. ix. 16. [2] Rom. ix. 18.
[3] Rom. ix. 20, 21. [4] Rom. x. 3. [5] Rom. x. 16-21.

that each should have attempted to evade the direct meaning of the chapter inconsistent with his views.

There have been various solutions of the difficulty. Some have ascribed it to the bad logic of St. Paul, some to his manner of isolating different aspects of the truth. The right explanation arises from an acquaintance with his intellectual training and a recognition of the depth and reality of his religious life. As a Pharisee St. Paul had learnt, in accordance with the fundamental teaching of Pharisaism, to recognize both fate and free-will, both Divine foreknowledge and human freedom, as equally true interpretations of human life, while as a Christian and as a result of his own experience he realized to the full the truth of this. He felt that he had been chosen by God for His work, and that he owed nothing to himself, but everything to God; but yet he was equally convinced that for all his actions he was personally responsible, for all his evil deeds he was personally to be blamed, that he must fulfil that for which God had called him. "I press on, if so be that I may apprehend that for which also I was apprehended by Christ Jesus."[1] And it is just the same with

[1] Phil. iii. 12.

regard to other Christians. Always St. Paul seems to see both sides with complete force. Everything in the Christian life comes from God; the Christian is one with Christ; he is filled with the Holy Spirit; but equally true is it that he is responsible. "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure."[1]

This is the ultimate and final account which religion and philosophy can give of human free-will. There are two truths, both necessary beliefs for human life, and apparently inconsistent with one another. If we look at human life from the point of view of God's omnipotence, or scientific speculation, or any philosophy of the absolute, human free-will seems an impossibility. If we look at it from the point of view of human consciousness, of human experience, of our moral judgements, of the basis of human society, human free-will must be an axiom. Both points of view are true, and they cannot be reconciled, or, rather, they cannot be reconciled from the limited outlook of humanity. To that, as to the other great problems which he discusses, St. Paul would have found his answer in the recogni-

[1] Phil. ii. 12, 13.

tion of the transcendent character of the Divine power and wisdom.

In no part of St. Paul's teaching is the influence of his theological training more apparent than in those subjects we have discussed in this chapter. His philosophy of history, his recognition of the Divine providence, is a direct development and enrichment of what he had learnt as a Jew. His attitude towards the problem of human free-will is a direct development of what he had learnt as a Pharisee. Normally in the Christian Church his speculations were hardly understood, but from time to time a one-sided interpretation of his teaching has become prominent. In the Second century, among the Gnostics, there was what we may call a pseudo-Pauline philosophy. St. Augustine developed one side of his teaching against Pelagianism, and Calvin built up a strong, but hard and narrow, theology on the imperfect apprehension of his religious and philosophic attitude.

X

ST. PAUL AND CHRISTIANITY

The character of his theology—Its relation to the teaching of Christ and the Apostolic age—Its influence on the Church—The development of Christian theology.

We have in the foregoing pages examined the chief points of St. Paul's teaching in relation to the circumstances among which they arose, and their subsequent influence on the development of Christianity. We have made no attempt at completeness or system, for St. Paul does not lend himself to either. This was partly the result of his Rabbinical training, partly of his mental characteristics. He could not be systematic, because his sympathies were so wide, his mind so great, that new thoughts and new aspects of Christianity are continually obtruding themselves. It is one sign of the inexhaustible character of St. Paul's thoughts and system that different commentators are able to construct quite different systems of theology out of his

writings. One may make justification, another the life in Christ, the centre round which he groups everything. One may see only a theology of redemption, another a theology of the Church. One sees predestination, another free-will. Each of these is merely selecting one side of the teaching, and St. Paul contains them all. He never limited his teaching by any adherence to system, and commentators should equally avoid it.

If we desired to depict his teaching as a whole, we should say that there are two main elements. There is St. Paul's mental equipment, his training as a Jew; there is, secondly, the Christian system as he received it; and the two are unified and transformed by the overpowering conviction of redemption through Christ and life in Christ. This suggests certain leading questions regarding his relation to the formation of Christian teaching, and we may group our discussion under four headings:

1. How far was St. Paul acquainted with the teaching of Jesus and the record of His Life?

2. What was the relation of his teaching to that of the early Church?

3. What was the particular contribution which he made to the development of Christian doctrine?

4. How did the Christian Church develop?

To put these questions in modern phraseology: What do we mean by Paulinism? Was there ever really any such thing? What is the relation of Paulinism to Christianity?

The first point is the relation of St. Paul's teaching to that of our Lord. It has been the custom to lay great stress on a statement that he made of the independence of his gospel: "For neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came to me through revelation of Jesus Christ."[1] With this is coupled the statement on which we have already commented, that he did not know Christ according to the flesh, and the independent line that he took on various occasions; and it is sought to prove that his teaching differed fundamentally from that of the early Church, and that it is to him that we are indebted for the leading doctrines of historical Christianity. We have seen that the assertion concerning Christ after the flesh bears no such meaning as has been given it,[2] and it is to attach a highly exaggerated meaning to the strong assertion of his independence if it is taken to imply that he received his information about Christianity from subjective

[1] Gal. i. 12.

[2] See p. 51.

sources. St. Paul felt that his grasp and apprehension of what the Gospel implied was not due to the direct influence of the Apostles, but to what he felt was an inspiration. He must have long known the leading tenets of the Christians' faith; it was a revelation from God which made him accept that faith as true, and realize all that it implied.

That this is so is shewn by the fact that he builds up his gospel on an historical basis. Its foundations are the death and resurrection of Christ, and these were facts with which he had become acquainted by human testimony. He no doubt learnt to believe in the resurrection because of the appearance of Christ to himself; but it was not revelation, it was personal inquiry or an acquaintance with written documents, which told him of the historical appearances that he enumerates. When it is necessary he refers to the historical narrative. He does so, for example, in regard to the Eucharist.[1] He speaks of the actual commands of the Lord in relation to marriage, clearly referring to words in our Gospels, and he distinguishes between what he owes to the Lord and what he owes to the inspiration of the Spirit. "But to the rest say I, not the

[1] See p. 180.

Lord."[1] And a little later: "Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord: but I give my judgement as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful."[2] And again: "But she is happier if she abide as she is, after my judgement: and I think that I also have the Spirit of God."[3] A comparison of the passages suggests quite clearly that St. Paul distinguishes between the direct commands of the Lord and his own judgement. The former come from precepts of the Gospel, the latter comes from the inspiration of the Spirit. Neither in the case of the Eucharist nor elsewhere is it possible that he should confound what had come to him from the revelations or inspirations of the Spirit with the commands of the Lord.

St. Paul possessed information concerning the teaching of the Lord similar to what we now possess in the Synoptic Gospels, and this is reflected directly in his moral teaching, indirectly in his doctrinal. The former has been already described, and its resemblance to the teaching of our Lord emphasized. The latter was really derived from the same source. St. Paul does not, of course, speak of our Lord in the same way that our Lord speaks of Him-

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 12. [2] 1 Cor. vii. 25. [3] 1 Cor. vii. 40.

self; but the question for discussion is whether his Christological language was based on his historical knowledge, or whether it was drawn from some other non-historical source; whether the Gospels inspired St. Paul or St. Paul created the Gospel. There is, in the opinion of the present writer, no doubt that the former alternative is correct. The Synoptic Gospels are quite uninfluenced by any sort of Pauline theology, and they present to us the main features of Christian theology in an untheological form. The personal claims of Christ implied in His words and works are earlier than the theological interpretations of them in St. Paul. The Christian doctrine of the Atonement was developed from the fact of our Lord's death and the significance ascribed to it by our Lord Himself. St. Paul did not create the Christian idea of that death. Forgiveness of sins becomes justification. Faith interprets the spirit of discipleship; the Church, the Christian solidarity.

A more difficult problem is presented by the relation of the teaching of St. Paul to that of St. John's Gospel. With writers of a certain school it is an axiom that the Johannine theology is only a developed Paulinism. But facts hardly support this. It is, of course, quite true that St. John's Gospel represents

the teaching of our Lord translated into the language and thought of a very different environment, and that there is a certain amount of very obvious development. It is, however, instructive to notice how very different in many ways is the teaching from that of St. Paul. There were in the teaching of St. John, of the Epistle to the Hebrews, of St. Peter, of St. Paul himself, common elements which might seem to transcend the teaching of the Synoptic Gospels. All seem to express a more developed view of the Person of Christ, of our union with Him, and the life in Christ, which is the Church. They all express themselves so differently in many ways that the amount of independence is too great to let us regard them as derived from one another. The direct points of contact are slight. They all alike have the appearance rather of going back to a common source which they have each developed in his own way. We think that it will ultimately be held that all these lines of development are derived from certain elements in our Lord's teaching which are represented to us by the discourses attributed to Him in St. John's Gospel.

The ultimate source of St. Paul's teaching, then, was the life and words of Jesus; and

equally did he share with the Apostolic Church the main elements of his teaching. This he tells us definitely himself, when speaking of the death and resurrection of Christ: "Now I made known unto you, brethren, the gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye received, wherein also ye stand, by which also ye are saved. . . . I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received. . . . Whether then it be I or they, so we preach, and so ye believed."[1] This definite statement of St. Paul is corroborated by the fact that there is a singular unanimity among all Christian writers as to the fundamental points of their teaching. In the different groups of books in the New Testament we have a very remarkable individuality of style and thought, combined with an equally remarkable unanimity of opinion on certain fundamental points. No one could describe the Book of Revelation as being in any sense Pauline, but it teaches in as remarkable a way as St. Paul ever does the eternity, the pre-existence, and the exaltation, of Christ. The vision of the 'Lamb as it had been slain,' is as definite a representation of the sacrificial interpretation of the death of Christ as anything in St. Paul's Epistles, or the Epistle to

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 1-11.

the Hebrews. Clearly, all this teaching goes back to a common source, and represents the common tradition of the Apostolic Church.

And if we turn to more specific points, we shall find that even the actual development of Christianity was not due to St. Paul. Apart from him the Gospel had been preached to Gentiles; others besides, and independent of him, disregarded enactments of the Jewish law. He can appeal to their recognition of the power of faith and the gift of the Spirit. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are always referred to as recognized and accepted Christian institutions, and the Acts of the Apostles represents these, and the conception of the Church, as part of the ordinary Christian tradition. The Christianity of St. Paul was the Christianity of the Church.

What, then, were the particular points, which were peculiar to him, which he brought into Christianity?

His influence was twofold. On the one side there were those elements which he owed to his Rabbinical training. He was, so far as we know, the first Christian theologian. He did not, as we have seen, construct a theological system, but he wrote theology. He had to deal with intellectual problems which presented

themselves to him, and he solved them, as was natural, with the aid of the intellectual training that he had received. To this side belongs, probably, all the more formal side of his teaching on justification, his theory of Christ as the Second Adam, the ascription of the origin of sin and death to the fall of Adam, his language on predestination and election, some elements in his conception of the philosophy of history, and, to some extent at any rate, his Biblical exegesis. All these are the most definitely Pauline elements. They are entirely, or almost entirely, absent from other writings of the New Testament, except in so far as Acts refers to them; they were not shared by any of his contemporaries; and they did not become part of traditional Christianity.

The other side of St. Paul's contribution to Christianity was of a different character. It was due to the reality of his Christianity—to the fact that he saw the issue more clearly, that he had greater spiritual power and insight, that he seemed to know even better than many of those who had been with Jesus the mind of the Master. So he grasped more fully than his contemporaries what Christianity meant. Faith, discipleship, love, all expressing his devotion to Christ as his Redeemer, were the key to all

that he taught. This faith taught him what was meant by the life in Christ: through it he grasped the transitoriness of the law; through this faith he had received the gift of the Spirit, and so knew how imperfect was the idea of law; through this faith he had grasped more fully the universality of the Gospel; and taught by experience, with his vision expanded, perhaps, by the gradual unfolding before him of the greatness of the Roman Empire, he had conceived the great conception of the Church which he expounds in the Epistle to the Ephesians, which was in a sense the culminating point of his teaching.

This represents the influence of St. Paul on the development of Christianity. He was not isolated; others were working with him. He and they alike thus contributed to the normal development of the Catholic Church.

But those doctrines which are sometimes called specifically Pauline were not grasped or understood in the same way. They did not become part of ordinary Christian life and thought. They became prominent at different epochs, often in an exaggerated form. Some Paulinism (in this sense) is to be found among the teaching of the Gnostics; it was clearly the teaching of St. Paul which helped in the

building up of the Augustinian theology; and once again, at the Reformation, its influence was exhibited through Luther and Calvin. In all these cases there was something disproportionate in its influence. It was not St. Paul's teaching which was reproduced, but certain special doctrines developed in a one-sided way.

We can now estimate St. Paul's place in the development of Christianity. The starting-point of the Christian religion is the Life and Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ as recorded in the Gospels, and of the general truth of that narrative there need be no doubt. After the tragedy of the Cross, which seemed to destroy their hopes, and the triumph of the Resurrection, the disciples began to understand and preach their Master. He had definitely claimed to be the Messiah. He had been accepted as such, and to them the truth of His claims was witnessed to by the Resurrection. From Him came ultimately the great truths of Christianity, and its moral teaching, always taught as principles, not formulated into rules. All this was studied by the early Church in the light of the Old Testament, and of its religious experience, especially that very real experience which was described as the gift of the Spirit.

Thus was gradually built up the life and teaching of the Church. Already it had begun to separate itself from Judaism, and was realizing, in a somewhat dim and imperfect way, its universal mission.

It was just at this time that St. Paul was converted. From the Church he learnt their traditions of the Master, and he accepted Christianity as it was then taught. What St. Paul taught was fundamentally what the rest of the Christian society taught, as an analysis of his Epistles shews. But his strong religious personality inspired the nascent Church with a faith, and the growing creed with a meaning, which had not so far been realized. It came to him as a revelation from heaven. He did not change it, but he realized all its most original features with greater intensity, and interpreted it in the light of his theological training. He had the courage to take the decisive steps, and was the first Christian theologian.

But the teaching of the Christian Church was not Paulinism; it was more Catholic in its sources. The Christian religion as we know it was already in existence before he taught. The creed that we learn differed little from that which he learnt; the life of Jesus which

he knew differed little from that which we read. He, like other great writers of the Apostolic age, helped to swell the volume of Christian tradition, but there was a good deal in his teaching which the primitive Church after his time did not, and could not, grasp. Yet at times there have been great crises in the Church, when controversies such as those in which he was involved have arisen, and hence it is that his writings have done for a later time what his powerful personality and his letters did in his own day.

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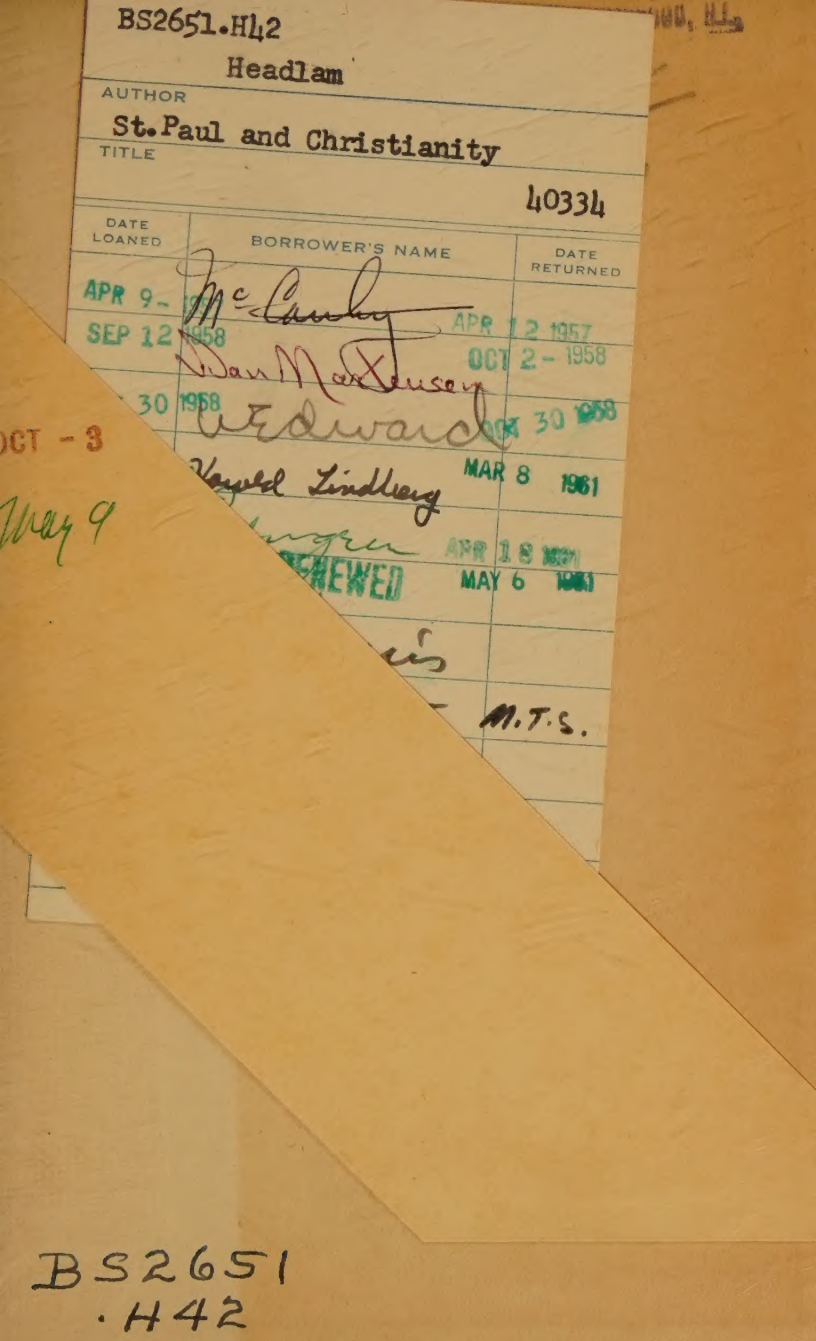

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